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BHĀRATĪYĀ VIDYĀ

Vol. I, Part I

November 1939

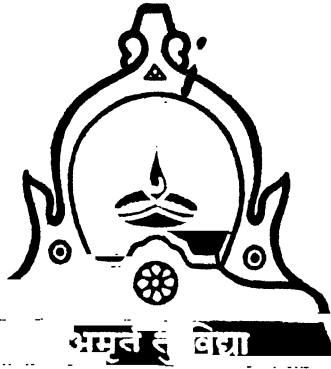


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BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ



Vol. I, Part I - - - November 1939

INTRODUCING OURSELVES

BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ, of which this is the first number, is the *Journal* of the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, Bombay. One of the objects of the BHAVAN, as stated in its *Memorandum of Association* (item f) is "to issue books, journals, and periodicals in English, Gujarati and Hindi and other allied modern Indian languages" so that the work and message of the BHAVAN may reach a wide public. Since the inception of the BHAVAN, therefore, a project to launch an English Journal of this kind was kept in the forefront of its programme, and largely due to the inspiration of our President, the Hon'ble Mr. K. M. MUNSHI, Home Minister to the Government of Bombay, the Editorial Board is now able to place the first issue of the JOURNAL before those who are interested in Indian learning, literature and culture.

The BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN was founded in Bombay on November 7, 1938. The occasion coincided with a memorial meeting convened by the SAHITYA SANSAD, a Literary Association of Bombay, founded by the Hon'ble Mr. K. M. MUNSHI in 1922 and of which he has since then been the President, to pay a tribute to the memory of HEMACANDRA, the greatest scholar-monk and polymath of medieval Gujarat. Presiding over the foundation ceremony of the BHAVAN, the Hon'ble Mr. MUNSHI said, "For many years it had been the dream of the SAHITYA SANSAD to crystallize its work into a centre in which the ancient learning and modern intellectual aspirations of this land may combine to create a new literature, a new history and a new culture. . . . The BHAVAN will be an Association which will organise active

centres where ancient Aryan learning is studied and where modern Indian culture is provided with a historical back-ground."

That this dream came to be realized so easily is due, we gratefully note, to the large-hearted and enlightened generosity of Sheth Munglal GOENKA and several other gentlemen and to the sympathetic assistance of some Trusts and Institutions.

The BHAVAN now possesses departments of (i) Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, (ii) Prakritic Languages and Hindī, (iii) Bhāgavata Dharma, (iv) Jaina Studies, (v) Indian History and (vi) Gujarātī, and has made the beginnings of an Indological Library, and undertaken direct supervision of *Shri Mumbadevi Sanskrit Pāthashāla*.*

Leaders of all-India fame, scholars of international reputation and educationists of long-standing experience further strengthened the hands of our President in this new venture by offering their willing co-operation as Founder-Members of the BHAVAN. The Executive Committee of the BHAVAN is indeed extremely grateful for such an inspiring response from all sides.

By *Bhāratīya Vidyā* one generally understands the knowledge of the sacred cultural heritage of India. That this heritage is the supreme product of an intellectual endeavour and spiritual experience covering at least four or five millenniums invests it with an undying assurance of power and permanence. Its spirit is at one with what is universal and calculated to elevate mankind. Its message rings true and real for all time. Its appeal far transcends the bounds of the land of its birth. A patient and reverent study of, and creative research into, the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, an objective evaluation and a restatement of its fundamental principles and ideals with special reference to the present-day problems, dissemination of its intrinsic truths and teachings with a view to increasing among our people the awareness of its spiritual values : this is the great task which modern India has before it and which must be fulfilled through her institutions like the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN. As a symbol of its devotion to this task the BHAVAN, therefore, names this JOURNAL *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, and accepts as its motto the Upanishadic *mantra* : अमृतं तु विद्या. Ours is an adventure of faith, which, we hope and pray, may flower forth into reality.

Though localised in Bombay, the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, naturally, invites the co-operation of Orientalists all the world over. Scholars carrying on research into the various branches of Indology will, through this organ of the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, get an added opportunity to bring the results of their labours into direct contact with the general public. The Editorial Board will be glad, therefore, to consider papers of original research or interpretation, offered for publication in this JOURNAL.

* Details of the working of these departments will be found in the "Notes of the Bhavan."

FUNDAMENTALS OF ARYAN CULTURE*

By

THE HON'BLE MR. K. M. MUNSHI, B.A., LL.B.

Time and again I have tried to discover the true meaning of Aryan Culture. The ancients called this culture 'Dharma', which meant to them the sum total of all sentiments, beliefs, values, ideals and activities which shaped and sustained life and literature and which made country worth living in. Today, I am trying to piece my thoughts about it together, so that the soul of *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, as I understand it, may be laid bare.

I

The words 'Arya' and 'Aryan' have been used in different senses by different men at different times. Hitler's use of them has for the first time in history engrafted implications on the words, which, if true, would make us hang down our heads in shame. Coming nearer home, the word 'Aryan' as applied to Indians as a race may appear to involve the question of heredity; but as applied to culture it has nothing to do with racial purity or Brahmanical exclusiveness. Who can say how much of Dravidian blood runs in the veins of the Brahmins of India? Many men of non-Aryan descent have risen to Rshihood. In later times did not Kabir popularise it? And did not Rupa Goswāmī, Sanātana Goswāmī and their nephew Jīva Goswāmī¹, the principal disciples of Caitanya, converts from Islam, found the Vṛndāvana school of Bhāgavata Dharma, pure and undefiled? Let us shun prudery and face the facts. Arya Dharma was created, upheld and propagated, among others, by men who, but for their cultural distinctiveness, could not have been called Aryans of unmixed descent. Aryan culture, thus, is the culture which has been built up in India on the thoughts, ideals and efforts of men and women who have consciously or unconsciously identified themselves with it.

But the word 'culture' is difficult to define and is very often confused with institutions which are only the dead material through which it works.

*Inaugural Lecture, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Extension Lectures, 1939.

1. Rupa Goswāmī and Sanātana Goswāmī, their original names being Dabir Khas and Sakar Malik, were the Muslim Ministers of the Rulers of Bengal. In 1516 they became disciples of Caitanya. The principal works of Rupa Goswāmī are *Vidagadha Mādhava*, *Lalita Mādhava*, *Bhaktirātnāmṛtasindhu*; and the well-known works of Sanātana Goswāmī are *Haribhakti-vilāsa* and *Caitanyacaritāmṛtādi* and he has written a commentary, *Vaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī*, on Śrīmad Bhāgavata. Jīva Goswāmī, their nephew, was the greatest disciple of Caitanya. They were responsible for founding the school of Bhakti of which Caitanya was the inspirer. That school has largely influenced all the Bhakti schools of India. Cf. Munshi, *Thoḍāṅka Rasadarśano*, p. 187.

Sir Henry Maine in trying to study social evolution in the Western world based his conclusions on the social conditions of Indians and certain primitive races. He and many authors after him confounded social conditions and institutions like the tribe, the patriarchate and the joint family as characteristic production of Aryan culture. According to Maine, Hindus, by reason of their *Smṛtis*, were condemned to 'a feeble and perverted civilisation', while the Romans, having a code, 'were exempt from the very chance of so unhappy a destiny.'² The generalisation is both ridiculous and unwarranted. The Romans and their culture which supported similar social institutions have disappeared from the face of the earth; the Hindus and their culture survive with a vitality which many younger nations might envy. European scholars and after them their Indian pupils have entirely misread Hindu Law and the culture it enshrines. In reality the social institutions which it deals with are common to human society in certain stages of its growth in all parts of the world; they are not the result of the Aryan conception of life. They withered away elsewhere; but in India they survived only because of the values which Arya Dharma gave to them. These values, therefore, constitute the culture and deserve to be noted.

The distinction between civilization and social conditions or institutions on the one hand and culture on the other has to be noted if the true meaning of culture has to be sought. Culture is not civilisation.

Aryan culture is not the apparatus of life, not the stones by which the mother of the Vedic Rshi ground corn, not the canoe by which Rāma and Sītā crossed the Sarayu, not the *charkhā* in which many see the embodiment of its spirit. The civilisation of India, that is, its technological and institutional equipment has varied, or been borrowed from others from age to age. The bridges which span our rivers, the mills which weave our cloth, and the legislatures which resound with our political hopes and disappointments are ours not by invention but by adoption. They are the permanent possessions of mankind which influence culture no doubt, but do not constitute it. Similarly our social habits, the caste, the family, the marriage system are but crusts of life, not life itself. Even the social and religious beliefs by which culture was propagated and preserved in Gujarāta in the past do not in themselves constitute it. These change with time, with the civilisation of each other.

This culture, however, is to be found in the sense of continuity; in the consciousness of Indian unity in the permanent values in which the Aryans have always seen the fulfilment of life; in the ethical and idealistic absolutes which have moulded the Aryan outlook on the eternal questions: What is life? What is its purpose and end?³

Thought, equally, is not culture, nor knowledge by itself. Culture consists of certain values which are found to express themselves through rituals and myths; through models of life and canons of conduct; through social

2. Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 18.

3. Munshi, *Gujarāta and Its Literature*, pp. 378-379.

traditions and institutions; through modes of expression in language and literature; through theories and ideals of life; through all the social, emotional and ideal factors which make a society a distinctive living organism. These values are created by the dominant Ideas, persisting for ages in a society, which are not means to an end, but in themselves form the end and aim of life.

II

In order to pursue the inquiry it becomes necessary to discover what are the essentials of Aryan culture, that is, features which, if they did not exist, would not make the culture Aryan as we understand it. The obviously essential features are: (a) the joint family, (b) the conjugal life, (c) the Varnāśramadharma, (d) the conception of Āryāvarta, (e) the supremacy of Saṁskṛta, and (f) historic continuity as implied in the sacredness attributed to Vedas.

The first essential feature is family life dominated by strong patriarchal traditions and, as its corollary, imposing strict regard for feminine virtue which would preserve in name the purity of the race, but in substance the purity of culture. The collectivism of the family or clan or group as a feature of social life is common to all peoples at some time or the other and is found not only in India and China, but in almost the whole of Asia and parts of Africa. The bond of the mother is biological; that of the father psychological, created and maintained by a subconscious effort of the imagination. But the patriarchal bond has been creative and has proved by far the stronger of the two; it has given to the whole world the family and irresistible clan-feeling and the idea of the brotherhood of man. It has also provided protection and relief to women, children and the destitute against the struggle of life.

To this normal institution created by social evolution, Aryan culture has contributed special significance. It lays down,

- (a) that the father's supremacy has to be maintained not only by respect but by emotional worship of all male forefathers traced right up to a Vedic or Purāṇic semi-divine person, and by an identity of interest between three consecutive generations of male descendants; and
- (b) that the mother's (i.e. the wife's) identity with the father (i.e. the husband) has to be absolute and inalienable.

In many ancient countries, Rome and Greece for instance, the first idea was accepted. But in India both these ideas have been worked into rituals, ceremonies, and laws. Through them every person consciously and deliberately wills himself into a living unity with his male ancestors and descendants; as soon as a male child is born he steps into the charmed circle of the *kūla* and the *gotra*. And every woman similarly wills herself into a living unity

with her husband. She is enjoined not merely to be the mother of heroes, a queen in the father-in-law's house⁴, but, as *Pāraskaragṛhya Sūtra* says, is expected that her breath should be bound up with her husband's breath, her bones with his, her flesh with his:

प्राणैस्ते प्राणान् सन्दधामि अस्मिन्मिरस्थीनि मांसैर्मसानि त्वचा त्वचमिति ।

Both these processes of identification are efforts of creative imagination, not of physical reality. The Aryan culture has thus invested ordinary patriarchal family and conjugal life with a deliberate effort of the individual will to become something other than what it is in fact. A man is an individual; by force of his will he becomes the member of a family coming down from a bygone ancestor. A woman is an individual; by creative imagination she becomes her husband's अर्धांगना 'half body.' Scope, no doubt, is left for the wayward to will otherwise and drift away. The father can disrupt the family; the son can break it; the brothers can separate. The wife, however, may break her unity only if the husband is dead or becomes an ascetic, impotent or fallen. The break-up of families, the promiscuity of marriages, cheap divorces, the economic helplessness of women and the resultant vulgarity, the dire vagaries of the centrifugal female were dangers which the Aryans were by no means prepared to ignore. But those who have known the women of this country know how by unconscious influence and conscious willing they have acquired complete identification with their husbands, and can testify to what part their volition plays in the process. Sītās and Sāvitrīs are not myths or interesting figures of the past: they are living ideals which millions of women think of by day, and dream of by night, till they in their little spheres will their way to a complete merger with their husbands. Thus it is by the efforts of the individuals in each generation through the influence of Aryan cultural ideals, that domestic life in India has survived the ravages of time.

III

The next essential feature is a conception of Society as made up of an inalienable interdependence of classes of men divided according to their functions, that is, (a) the creative, the intellectual, and the idealistic classes (b) the organisational and the protective classes, (c) the classes producing and distributing wealth, (d) the classes which render essential services to society. This organisation of society was conceived irrespective of territorial limits. Every man was held to have been born with *svadharma*, a word connoting both aptitude and function. It insists upon a respect—inherent both in human nature and needs—for the Brāhmanas, i.e. the members of the first class, who stand for learning, culture and self-control.

Culture and intellect wedded to high idealism which loves to conquer

4. वीरसूदेवकामाः...सम्राज्ञी श्वशुरे भव...समंजन्तु विश्वे देवाः समाक्षे हृदयानि नौ ।

by service must dominate society if human life is not to sink to the level of beasts. And so it has been proved even in the so-called class-less Russia, where the intellectuals have, under a professedly proletarian regime, acquired a position of leadership and privilege.

This interdependence has permitted a new comer to benefit by, but not to destroy, social privileges, and has offered scope to the uncultured to rise in the scale of life but never so fast as to jeopardise its stability. It postulates the possibility of harmonious co-ordination of these classes as the fundamental basis of stable social existence. Classes more or less similar to these are found in many ancient and modern societies, and have often tended to hereditary exclusiveness. But this social structure has been metamorphosed by the Aryan spirit into Varnāśramadharma, a peculiarly Aryan idea.

The history of Varnāśrama is rather ignored when considering this question. In the R̥g-Vedic times the white Aryans and the noseless and dusky Dasyus were ranged against one another as races representing distinct cultures. The R̥shis were the priest-singers, the pure, the inspired, not yet ranged into a caste; and the Aryans lived in *viśas*, the villages, and formed the bulk of the people. In the days of the *Aitareya* and the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*—chronologically the next records extant—the Dasyus had been conquered and absorbed in the Aryan society, the unabsorbables at the time being segregated into Śūdras. Even the Dasyu god Śiśnadeva had been transmuted into the god Iśāna, the forerunner of the Mahādeva.⁵ The political supremacy of the white Aryans was transformed into the cultural supremacy of the class who, by their rigid self-discipline, kept alive the torch of Aryan rites and beliefs, the emphasis on racial purity being shifted to cultural purity.

Professions and classes invested with privileges have tended to become hereditary, particularly in primitive days. The Aryan conception of Brahminhood on the contrary assumed the possibility of any one, however low or alien, rising to its very height. Vasiṣṭha, one of the earliest of Vedic R̥shis, was of doubtful Aryan lineage; his grandson Parāśara was the son of a Śūdrā; and his great-grandson, the first among those who taught the Arya Dharma, who is recognised as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, was born of a fisherwoman.⁶ Kavasha Ailusha,⁷ Vatsa,⁸ Satyakāma

5. *Aitareya*, III. 33; II. 33. *Kaushitaki*, VI. 1. 9. Keith, Introduction to *Aitareya*, (Harvard Oriental Series), pp. 25-27.

6. गणिकागर्भसंभूतो वसिष्ठश्च महामुनिः ।

तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातः संस्कारास्तत्र कारणम् ॥ •

जातौ व्यासस्तु कैबर्त्याः श्वापाक्यास्तु पराशरः । •

बहवोऽन्येपि विप्रत्वं प्राप्ता ये पूर्वमद्विजाः ॥

7. *Aitareya*, VIII. 1.

8. *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XIV. 6.

Jābāla,⁹ Mahidāsa, Aitareya, all well-known Ṛshis, had Śūdra blood in their veins.

And no class for ever was doomed to perpetual inferiority. As one rose in the scale of culture, as his habits, attainments and ideals became attuned to the permanent values of Aryan culture, his position among the varṇas elevated correspondingly.¹⁰ The Vratyastoma, a ceremony laid down in the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, prescribes how the fallen and the non-Aryans can be lifted into the fold of Aryans.

Aryan culture has little respect for distinctions created by birth. He who has realised pure Joy does not see any difference between a Cāṇḍāla and a non-Cāṇḍāla, says the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*.¹¹ Later the foreign armies which came to conquer, but lived to settle in the country became Kshatriyas. The Ośvālas and Porvādas of Gujarāta were classed as Kshatriyas till they forsook the art of war for commerce, when they became Vaiśyas. The Śūdras, rising in the scale of life and culture, soon came to be recognised as Vaiśyas. And reformers came and swept all artificial barriers away and permitted classes to be readjusted according to *guṇa* and *karma*. Everyone is and must be, by the nature of things, born in his father's position in life; but the Aryan culture gave him the right to rise to Brahminhood. It gave for all a secure place in the class of their birth, but demanded for every one the right to assume the place which his capacity and culture deserved. One can always will his way to Brahminhood like Satyakāma Jābāla, to a Kshatriya's position like Paraśurāma.

But Varṇāśrama was more than this. The four castes were interdependent components of one harmonious whole. Society was conceived as an association of four castes for the maintenance of social order as inspired and controlled by Dharma. The earliest record of this view, after race superiority of the Aryans was transformed into the cultural hierarchy of the Varṇas, is contained in the well-known *Purusha Sūkta*.¹² The Brāhmaṇa sprang from his mouth, the king from his arms; the Vaiśya was born from his thighs and the Śūdra from his feet. These four classes were thus the inseparable limbs of the Purusha, the cosmic unity conceived as an individual which transcended the universe by a cubit (*atyatiṣṭhat daśāṅgulam*).

Here we have the idea of social order first presented as a unity, a wonderfully fresh conception which coloured all later Indian thought. Society, according to this view, is not a restriction of natural rights, as Rousseau conceived it; and self-interest is not the sole and sufficient urge for social action. 'We cannot be ourselves without the others' was a truth on which

9. *Chāndogya*, IV. 4.

10. *Rgveda*, X. 125. 5.

11. IV. 3. 22.

12. *Rgveda*, X. 90.

the structure has been based ; and the summed-up energy of their co-operation gave it its enduring quality. To the conflicting claims of social life, the Aryan thought thus gave a new value. This unity was to be achieved by prayer and penance, by service and love, by *sarvabhūtahite ratih*; by every individual willing such a unity into existence. This was the basic value of Aryan culture handed down from the author of *Purusha Sūkta*, through myriads of saints, sādhus and bhaktas, to Mahatma Gandhi.

IV

The next essential of Aryan culture was an unwavering faith in Āryāvarta, the holy land of the Aryans, leavened by an abiding veneration for those who lived and died so that Āryāvarta might live one, indivisible and eternal. Āryāvarta in fact is not a tangible quantity. In some remote age it was a geographical expression now surviving only under the name of Aryano Vaejō of the *Zend Avestā*. At one time it was vaguely defined as the territory south of the Himālayas, north of Pariyātrā, east of Ādarsha and west of Kālakavana. But in Kauṭilya's days Takshashilā, his birth place in the N. W. F., was perhaps its principal centre. Yājñavalkya made his code for Āryāvarta, that is, the land north of the Narmadā. Once Gujārāta and the western provinces were outside it. In the days of Hemacandra Pāṭana, its capital was claimed by pandits to be as much as centre of Āryāvarta as Ayodhyā. No one will now venture to put Rameshwaram outside its frontiers. Āryāvarta has thus no fixed limits; it is a land, never outside India, where Ārya Dharma ruled.

It was at no stage a land of the past. Mythology embracing legends of sacred rivers, mountains and cities, royal houses and semi-divine heroes and sages, has made it a living presence to every generation. A keen sense of historic continuity has been preserved through a belief in the *Vedas* as the ultimate source of all inspiration, giving to all races of every origin and period a conscious unity of life and history. Every child brought up in an atmosphere permeated by Aryan culture dreams of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, of Paraśurāma and Rāma, of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, and wins for himself a new Āryāvarta, which becomes for him his native land in and for which he lives, moves and has his being. And men for centuries have proudly felt what the author of the *Vishṇupurāṇa* so beautifully described :

गायन्ति देवा किल गीतकानि धन्यास्तु ते भारतभूमिभागे ।

स्वर्गापवर्गास्पदमार्गभूते भवन्ति भूयः पुरुषाः सुरत्वात् ॥

What he says was not merely true of the past, but has been an ever-present reality produced by the creative imagination of every cultured Indian.

This value is achieved by associating Āryāvarta with Saṁskṛta which, according to Aryan values, is, not merely a language perfect in structure and classic in expression, with a rich, varied and beautiful literary achievement.

It is the living embodiment of the cultural ideals of the race, an Āryāvarta in verse and prose of undying beauty woven into the mind and life of every cultured home. Objectively, Āryāvarta was the memory of an old home; mythology, a bundle of traditions; Saṁskṛta, a dead language of literature and religion. But to these three elements was given a new value by fusing them into a composite and glorious conception of an Āryāvarta, the land of the spirit, of past glory, present inspiration and future greatness; not an objective reality, but a psychological entity willed into existence by each cultured generation of Indians, knitting them all in an indestructible bond irrespective of time and place. This fact would explain how in almost two generations Indians have absorbed the Nation Idea; all they had to do was to impose a political aspect on it.

V

In all these essentials, the vital ingredient which Aryan culture contributed was not that the individual should accept the family, the class, the country or the language he is born into, but that he should by deliberate purposive efforts of the imagination create his *kūla*, his *varṇa* and his Āryāvarta for himself. Under all the varying beliefs and myths, theories and religions associated with Arya Dharma is found the fundamental truth that the supreme law of life is not being what one is, but *becoming*; *becoming* not by pressure of environments, but by self-directed efforts of the imagination.

This truth was perceived by the Vedic Aryans long before the rest of mankind came out of its herd state of unconscious social instincts. The philosophic aspects of the individual have varied with the ages and are immaterial. The Rg-Vedic age did not clearly perceive it as existing apart from its physical apparatus. The *Puruṣa* of *Patañjali* is all-knowing and absolute, shrouded in the three *guṇas* but distinct from *Īśvara*; the *ātman* of Vedānta may, in its pure state, be indistinguishable from *Brahman*; the *ātman* of Buddhistic doctrines is understood to dissolve when *nirvāṇa* is reached. But theory apart, the basis of all approach is the existence of the individual, without which the Will to Become has no substance and no point. Each individual has his own aptitudes and functions which for him are greater than those of the greatest, his truth, his *satya*.¹³ Death is to be preferable, to its surrender.¹⁴ It is the cause and the law of his being, *svabhāva*. In its growth alone, lies the germ of his Becoming. If the individuality is the starting point of an individual's Becoming, he needs must have an imaginary absolute of himself, the *dhyeya*, the picture of what he will become when the process is accomplished. The imaginary absolute of every man would differ according to his taste, temperament and training.

13. श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः । *Bhagavadgītā*.

14. स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः । *Ibid*.

• This law of Becoming postulates the individual as the fundamental pivot of Aryan culture. He is something more real than society, state or any other social institution. His imagination and will are the generating forces from which they are born; their life, energy or intelligence is ultimately derived from him.

This law of Becoming is the central Idea of Aryan culture. The individual must consciously, deliberately will to bring his imaginary absolute into existence; he must will to *become* it. This will must be made irresistible before he becomes what he wants to be.¹⁵ He whose will wavers, fails. This will is split into atoms where it is distracted by pleasure and pomp, by ignorance or self-importance, by attachment, repulsion or love of life.¹⁶ He who fights and controls the distractions, who keeps the objective of his imaginative effort, *dhyeya*, before him, strengthens his will to become. Then all the impulses of the individual are harmonised and in his *dhyeya* is reflected, in its purest form, the unity of his inter-connected ideals.

The mind, speech and body then harmonise to realise the objective; the will becomes one-pointed, एकाग्र. When the mind glows with the light of the *purusha*, the imaginary absolute of the individual, when it holds the objective, unconscious of everything else, then the individual merges itself into its objective.¹⁷ His mind, then glowing with the concentrated vigour of his whole individuality, *becomes* the '*dhyeya*.' What was an imaginary absolute has become himself. Realization is complete; the individual has become the *purusha*.

In this way individuals, concentrating on the glorious phenomenon that is Aryan culture, have been winning during their life time afresh for themselves and their generation the absolute values which constitute it. The stages of social evolution like the patriarchal family, the classes of men and their relations, the memory of a lost land and the wealth of a dead language—which in other countries become fossilised and passed into history—live again as the healthy essentials of a living culture by a process pursued by millions of men for centuries.

Becoming is thus not a sentiment, but an achievement; hence the emphasis of Karmayoga. Religion inspired by its urge does not rest on belief and scripture, as in Semitic religions, but is a matter of individual experience. The Semitic cultures and the Aryan culture have this ineradicable distinction. Under them, the individual is an individual and will remain so; by his efforts, he may rise to the heights of saintliness or prophethood; but he will remain for ever, in life as after death, different from the Absolute, from God, who alone will judge him.

15. समाधावचला बुद्धिः । *Ibid.*

16. व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिरेकेह कुरुनन्दन ।

बहुशाखा ह्यनन्ताश्च बुद्ध्योऽव्यवसायिनाम् ॥ *Ibid.*

17. अर्थमात्रनिर्भासां स्वरूपशून्यमिव समाधिः । *Yogasūtra.*

The Aryan culture has exactly a contrary outlook. It teaches, nay insists, on endeavour, self-discipline and asceticism in order to realise the Supreme Self in this life. He who fights the distractions,¹⁸ keeping before him an ever-expanding imaginary absolute, will forge his Will into a *vajra*; the distractions will then fall away from him; he will transcend the three *gunas*,—aspects, in which life is trapped, as it were; and he will shed attachment, fear and anger.¹⁹ Then the concentrated powers of his mind will create what it is bent on. He would reach *kaivalya* and while in flesh become the Absolute. This is the Aryan way as distinguished from the non-Aryan.

But this view of creative power is not left to dogma or philosophy; it is first and foremost an *experiential* method. Before becoming, by self-directed will, can yield such results it must be based on some law of cause and effect. This is not mysticism or spiritualism. Psychology has yet to advance far before it can produce the experience of the Aryan seers into modern phrase, and logic can never convince a person, who is not prepared to go through the experience or to take the word of one who has gone through it. The law of Becoming is based on the fact that Idea is Creation. When the will of a man conflicts with his imagination, the imagination wins. What the imagination loves to become or accomplish is easily done, for when concentrated it alone can bring forth the strength and creative energy in man. A man can create only what he vividly visualises by his imagination. When his imagination and will coincide, when the will is trained to surrender its power to an inflamed imagination, when such imagination constantly and one-pointedly dwells on an object, the visualisation becomes so vivid and one-pointed as that realisation follows in fact. Thus visualisation of the idea of a created thing is a prerequisite to its creation in fact; or rather, as the *Yoga-sūtra* would say, when a thing is visualised in a *samādhi*, it becomes an objective reality.

VI

But Aryan culture, while teaching the law of Becoming for exploitation towards social or personal ends, has also taught another law, which forms both its strength and its limitation. It may be called the Law of Moral Causation.

The *mahāvratas*, which are the broad heads under which the law is generally treated, are non-violence, truth, non-stealing, non-waste, and non-possession.²⁰ They are universal, to be pursued without any consideration of the class of persons concerned and the time, place or utility of their

18. अविद्याऽस्मिता रागद्वेषाऽभिनिवेशः क्लेशाः । *Bhagavad Gītā*.

19. वीतरागभयक्रोधः । *Bhagavad Gītā*.

20. अहिंसासत्यास्तेयब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहायमाः । *Yogasūtra*.

application.²¹ They are universal, not because they are categorical imperatives, not because they lead to benefit in this world or the next. They are to be pursued because of a sequence of cause and effect which experience has shown to be unalterable.

If an individual becomes non-violent in thought, word or deed, he will attract love, which implies influence over man and beast. Many sādhus wandering about in the jungle have attracted the loyalty of tigers and serpents. A wolf-doctor in the British Zoo could make the fiercest wolf come to him like a pet dog. The early Christian martyrs practised non-violence on a mass scale and the love of Europe gravitated to them, giving them unlimited power over the lives of men. Gandhiji has been an active fighter all his life, but his antagonists have surrendered themselves to the winning influence of his love and non-violence. When a man has realised non-violence, people forget their hostility to him.²²

If an individual practises truth, his actions bear immediate fruition.²³ Truth is not correctness of facts or logical accuracy of views; it is thought, word and deed welded in harmony. Anything else is camouflage in some form or the other and cannot lead to successful creative effort. Thus accomplishment is but the perceptible counterpart of the imperceptible individual experience of harmonising thought, speech and action.

And so with non-stealing. Experience has proved the truth that when a man becomes the embodiment of non-stealing, he attracts wealth. When a man realises non-waste in himself, vigour follows; when he gives up all possessions he realises the why and wherefore of existence, what his place in life is, what is his destiny.²⁴

This is the Law of Moral Causation. Non-violence, truth, non-stealing, non-waste and non-possession are respectively the only inseparable antecedents of love and accomplishments, wealth and vigour and a true view of life's fulfillment. This is not a theory based on human conventions, or a message from above. It is similar to the law of gravitation; when the apple falls off the tree it is drawn to the earth. You may not be convinced about it, but you will have to follow it all the same. It is a matter of cause and effect established by countless experiences. No Becoming can be perfect or enduring except when it follows this Law of Moral Causation. Violence or camouflage, appropriation or possessiveness, may lead to becoming of a sort, but as night follows the day, it will beget distractions, attachment or repulsion and destroy it in the hour of its fruition.

21. जातिदेशकालसमयानवच्छिन्नाः सार्वभामा महाव्रतम् । *Ibid.*

22. अहिंसाप्रतिष्ठायां तत्सन्निधौ वैरत्यागः । *Ibid.*

23. सत्यप्रतिष्ठायां क्रियाफलाश्रयत्वम् । *Ibid.*

24. अस्तेयप्रतिष्ठायां सर्वरत्नोपस्थानम् । ब्रह्मचर्यप्रतिष्ठायां वीर्यलाभः । अपग्रहस्थैर्ये जन्मकथन्तासम्बोधः । *Ibid.*

Modern India has not discovered Truth and Non-violence. It has only applied the Law of Moral Causation, so far considered to be applicable only to individuals, to mass life and corporate activities. Truth and non-violence, on which Gandhiji lays emphasis, are but the instruments of securing desired results and gaining the enduring influence and power which love yields. And as experience of ages has taught us that the Law of Moral Causation is inexorable, Truth and Non-Violence can only be principles, never a policy. And in teaching us this Law, Gandhiji has only extended the scope and efficacy of the basic values of Aryan culture.

What then is life? What is its purpose and end? Aryan culture conceives it as endless Becoming pursued on the path of the Mahāvratas, so that life freed from sorrow and struggle may grow into pure Joy—as an experience above and beyond the uncertainties of earthly existence. In the use of materialistic power by an indomitable and all-pervasive effort to will these Ideas into existence lies the secret of India's undying life; in their triumph over such power, the only hope of humanity.

INTERPRETATION OF THE RĠVEDA *

By

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As I rise to speak before you this afternoon on the 'Interpretation of the Rġveda,' I am reminded of the warning which an ancient Vedic Commentator sounded some centuries back in the *Supplement to Nirukta* (XIII, 12). Referring to the hymns of the Rġveda, the earliest and, in a certain sense, the most important literary record of the Aryans in India, the author of this *Supplement* says : न ह्येषु प्रत्यक्षमस्त्यनृषेरतपसो वा । "One who is not a seer, or who is without *tapas* (austere meditation), has, verily, no intuitive insight into them." The history of Vedic Exegesis down the scores of centuries has sufficiently vindicated the soundness of this warning. And in order to show such a warning as this cannot but strike a modern Vedist (be he Indian, European or American), as both opportune and appropriate, let me give you at the outset a brief *r  sum  * of the many attempts so far made at understanding and interpreting the Rġveda. As a part of an Extension Lecture, this *r  sum  * will have to be, I admit, as non-technical and unburdened with textual references as possible without injuring the main purport of this paper.

Though the Vedic seers can hardly be expected to have indulged in expounding their own hymns from a linguistic point of view, it is certain that the necessity for a supreme effort not only to know the innermost meaning of the Vedas, but also scrupulously to preserve the sacred texts in pristine purity of their form and pronunciation was at once felt at a very early date. In fact, the paramount purpose of the study of grammar in ancient India was held to be, in Pata  jali's words, रक्षार्थं वेदानाम् "the preservation of the Vedic texts".¹

The first result of the earliest efforts to meet this purpose was the resolution of the Samhit  -text into the *Pada*-form, which, indeed, can be called the first step in the analysis of the Sanskrit speech. The *Padap    ha* or "word-text" represents each word separately from its phonetic connection in the Samhit  -text, and each compound into its components through insertion of an *Avagraha*, and characterises the *Prag  hyas* with an appended *iti*.² This analytical method would presuppose a sound knowledge of the rules of phonetics, accents and compounds, and Vedamitra   akalya, to whom the authorship of the *Padap    ha* of the Rġveda is ascribed shows a remarkable mastery over

* Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Extension Lecture,^{  } delivered on January 28, 1939.

1. *Mah  bh    ya*, Vol. I, p. 1.

2. *R  pr        ya*, 29. All these devices used to differentiate the *Padap    ha* from Samhit  -text have been formularised and codified in the *Pr        yas*.

these rules.³ It is true, however, that one cannot blindly accept Śākalīya's Padapāṭha in all the places, for, a critical Vedist will have to differ from him on not a few occasions.⁴

For an exposition of the meaning of the Veda in ancient India a knowledge of the six *Vedāṅgas*, namely, *Śikṣā* 'phonetics', *Kalpa* 'ritual', *Vyākaraṇa* 'grammar', *Nirukta* 'etymology', *Chandas* (earlier *Chandovicitā*) 'Metrics', and *Jyotiṣa* 'astronomy', was considered essential.⁵ These form, along with the four Vedas, what is called "the lower knowledge" (*aparā vidyā*).⁶

Then there were the *Prātiśākhya*s, in which we meet with the first treatises on phonetics, written mainly with a view to instructing as to how the Vedic chants were to be recited, but containing, at the same time, useful information concerning the language. For example, the classification of the Sanskrit sounds in their systematic natural order as found in the *Prātiśākhya*s, has, in substance, remained the same till today and "it shows a high degree of scientific precision and analytic skill".⁷ Rightly did Sir George A. Grierson remark in a message to the Linguistic Society of India on the appearance of the first number of *Indian Linguistics* that it had been the authors of Indian *Prātiśākhya*s, who laid the foundation of the science of Philology and inspired scholars of the West.

The attempts of the authors of the *Brāhmaṇas* at interpreting some of the Vedic words and phrases are often incorrect and fanciful from the philological point of view, and out of their apparent lack of exegetical principles much capital is often made by the modern non-Indian scholars. But we must not forget that the authors of the *Brāhmaṇas* were not at all concerned with explaining the original literal sense of the *mantras*, their self-chosen task being to deal with the sacrificial ceremonials, describe their minute details and discuss their import, speculate upon their nature and origin, and illustrate their potency with the help of ancient legends. Naturally therefore the contribu-

3. On account of its fundamental importance for the knowledge of the R̥gvedic speech the Padapāṭha is aptly compared by Bruno Liebig (*Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft* : II, p. 21) with the trigonometric survey for the geography of a country.

4. In rare cases have Sāyaṇa and Skandasvāmin also differed from the Padapāṭha, though, in my opinion, not successfully. Modern, particularly Western, commentators of the R̥gveda have very often challenged the Padapāṭha. Their conclusions should, however, be accepted only after a fresh study of the text in the light of latest researches; for their challenge to the Padapāṭha is often round hastily hurled. (In a paper which I propose to read before the Vedic section of the forthcoming session of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference I have re-examined the Padapāṭha of the sixth Maṇḍala of the R̥gveda.)

5. Cf. Sāyaṇa (Introduction to his R̥gveda-Bhāṣya, p. 25 of the latest Poona edition) : अतिगम्भीरस्य वेदस्यार्थमवबोधयितुं शिक्षादीनि षडंगानि प्रवृत्तानि ।

6. *Mundakopaniṣad* I, 1, 4-5.

7. Taraporewala, *Elements of the Science of Language* (Calcutta 1932), p. 20; M. Patel, *Calcutta Review*, April, 1934, p. 98.

tion of the *Brāhmaṇas* to the textual study of the Ṛgveda is limited in so far as the grammatical explanations are concerned, but it is no doubt unique and indispensable for enlightening us about the theological and ritualistic details connected with some of the Vedic hymns.⁸

The next great milestone in the march of the exegesis of the Ṛgveda is Yāska, the great etymologist and author of the *Nirukta*, who commented on the various *Nighaṇṭus* which contain oldest lexicographical material in their collections of rare and obscure Vedic words. The *Nirukta* is rightly called by Prof. L. Sarup the oldest Indian treatise on Etymology, Philology and Semantics,⁹ and Yāska's interpretations are of great value, though they cover a very small portion of the Ṛgveda, namely, about 600 selected stanzas out of a total of about 10,500. To refer to Yāska immediately after the *Brāhmaṇas* is not to suggest that there was a blank gap in the course of Vedic exposition in ancient India during the intervening centuries. A rich heritage of Vedic exegesis flowed down from the most ancient times, and Yāska himself quotes no less than 30 authorities, either predecessors or contemporaries, in his *Nirukta*.

That in Yāska's time there were many view-points and schools of interpretations such as, etymologists, grammarians, ritualists, legendists, *Aitiḥāsikas*, *Ādhyātmavids*, etc., only shows how seriously and energetically the study of the Vedas was then taken up.¹⁰ A man of comprehensive knowledge and sound phonetic equipment, Yāska reveals fine intellect and scientific insight in his investigations in various phonetic phenomena¹¹ such as syncope (*jagmuḥ* 'they went' from √*gam-*), metathesis (*stoka-* 'drop' from √*scut-* 'to drop', *rajju-* 'rope' from √*sṛj-* 'to emit', and *tarku-* 'knife' from √*kṛt-* 'to cut', etc.), anaptyxis (*āsthat* from √*as-* 'to throw'), haplogy (*ṭṛca* = *tri* + *ṛca* 'three stanzas'), and his marking out cases of assimilation and even *prakṛitism* in Ṛgveda (see his explanation of *kuṭasya* by *kṛtasya* in Nir. V. 24) should be a refreshing reminder of his scientific attainments in the field of Vedic scholarship, which a modern Vedist must not fail honestly to appreciate and thankfully to utilize.

From Yāska to Sāyaṇa (latter half of the 14th cent. A.D.) is a long distance, but it must not be supposed that the currents of the Vedic interpreta-

8. An example, picked up at random, may be given here. The meaning of Ṛgveda V, 40, 5 and 6 would have remained mostly unintelligible but for the sidelights thrown on the theological aspect of the two stanzas by TS. II, 1, 2, 2; MS. 48, 11; 111, 1; Kāth. 12 and 13; SB. V, 3, 2, 3 and Tāṇḍ. VI, 6, 8. Many such instances could be quoted.

9. Sarup, *The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta* . . . 2 volumes, Oxford; I : Introduction, 1920; II : English Translation and Notes, 1922.

10. A brilliant paper by Principal A. B. Dhruva in the *Malaviya Commemoration Volume* (pp. 447-458) shows how important, in their own way, are the contributions of these various schools in understanding the meaning of the Veda. There was even a nihilist school which denied that the Veda had any intelligible significance.

11. Sarup, *ibid.* I. Introduction.

tion and tradition had run dry in this long interval. The Western scholars have often erred in their belief that after Yāska, Sāyaṇa was the only commentator of the R̥gveda during the 2,000 years which seem to have elapsed between the two Vedists, and that Sāyaṇa therefore "had much less ancient exegetical material available for his explanations than Yāska must have had."¹² Little by little we come to realize that there were various pre-Sāyaṇa commentators of the R̥gveda and other Vedas, such as Bhaṭṭabhāskaramiśra, Skandasvāmin, Udgītha, Kapardisvāmin, Venkaṭa Mādhava, etc., during the period between the sixth cent. B.C. and the fourteenth cent. A.D., and that an unbroken, active, enlightened tradition was a common heritage of orthodox scholars from generation to generation.¹³ It is true, therefore, that Sāyaṇa had before him richly accumulated results of the Vedic interpretation and tradition covering many centuries, and he must have certainly made use of them in his great *Bhāṣya*. Perhaps after the publications of the *Bhāṣyas* of the above-mentioned pre-Sāyaṇa commentators, Sāyaṇa's reputation may suffer and much of what passes at present as his own interpretation of the Vedas might ultimately be traced to someone else before him. Perhaps the time for a final word on the originality and scientific precision of Sāyaṇa has not yet come. From what we see in the so far published *Bhāṣyas* of Skandasvāmin and Venkaṭa Mādhava, we shall have to modify, it appears, our evaluation of Sāyaṇa's contribution to the Vedic exegesis, when, if ever, these *Bhāṣyas* are placed in their entirety before us. But there is no denying the fact that the importance of the Sāyaṇa *Bhāṣya* as a most complete and continuous attempt to comment on every word of the R̥gvedic text will always be recognized and that it was he who remained for long a "blind man's stick" in our path of Vedic interpretation. Professor Geldner's vindication of Sāyaṇa's worth and usefulness against the attacks of some Western interpreters of the Veda has been of immense service in turning the methods of scientific research in the Vedic texts along the right lines. In his 'Einleitung,' to the now famous *Vedische Studien*, pt. I, the late Professor has conclusively shown how often Sāyaṇa, rather than Roth, has hit upon the right interpretation, even though the latter claimed better linguistic attainments and therefore raised the cry of "los von Sāyaṇa."

After Sāyaṇa there were certainly a few attempts here and there to explain some portions of the Vedas, but as they pale into insignificance before the thoroughness of the Sāyaṇa-Bhāṣya, they may well be left out of consideration in this short lecture.

Now we turn to the history of the exegesis of the R̥gveda as mirrored in European study of the Veda. In the beginning of the Sanskrit philology in the West, that is, so early as 1805, Colebrooke declared about the Vedas that

12. Macdonell, *Commemorative Essays presented to Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar*, p. 6.

13. Sarup, *Indices and Appendices to the Nīruktā*, Introduction, p. 78 ; *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 133 f.

they were too voluminous for a complete translation of the whole and what they contained, would hardly reward the labour of the reader, much less, that of the translator.¹⁴ But this pessimistic note did not hamper the progress of the Vedic researches in the West. Friedrich Rosen's *Rig-Vēdæ Specimen* appeared in 1830, and even before the publication of the now famous Oxford edition of the Rġveda (with *Sāyaṇa-Bhāṣya*) by Max Müller (1849), Langlois attempted a complete French translation (1848-51). And with the appearance of Max Müller's edition, H. H. Wilson began his English translation of the Rġveda strictly following the commentary of Sāyaṇa, which would furnish, in his opinion, "the safest guide through the intricacies and obscurities of the text."¹⁵ This school of interpreters in the West was sometimes called the "Traditional school" and they themselves, "Conservative Sanskritists."¹⁶

But as soon as other works dealing directly or indirectly with the problem of the interpretation of the Veda began to see the light of the day, it became evident to some scholars that sole dependence on Sāyaṇa would not solve the knotty problem of explaining the Rġveda. Quoting the contradictions or inconsistencies which they sometimes found in the commentary of Sāyaṇa itself, they poured ridicule on both Yāska and Sāyaṇa, simply because the two had differed from each other in their exposition of some stanzas of the Rġveda, as if there could be no honest difference of opinion among scholars about the meaning of a particular passage in their ancient sacred texts. Rudolf von Roth, therefore, initiated a critical method of interpreting the Rġveda from itself, that is, from internal evidence achieved by the minute comparison of all passages parallel in form and matter, while also welcoming assistance furnished by the context, grammar, and etymology.¹⁷ Firmly deciding not to pay any regard to the Indian commentators of the Vedas, Roth fully carried out his decision in preparing the great St. Petersburg *Wörterbuch*.¹⁸ In his foreword to this Petersb. Lexicon (p. 5) he shows his contempt for Sāyaṇa in these words: "...dass ein gewissenhafter europaischer Erklärer des Veda weit richtiger sei und besser verstehen könne als Sāyaṇa."¹⁹ This prejudice soon gained ground and was cherished by almost all the European Vedic scholars of that period. They followed only linguistic methods, that is to say, they believed that through the mastery of grammatical forms, through concepts resulting from etymological analyses, and through

14. *Asiatic Researches* (1805), VIII, p. 476.

15. *Rig-Veda Sanhitā*, Vol. II, p. XVIII.—Only the first half of Wilson's translation was published before his death; the rest from his MSS. was edited by Prof. Cowell. In all, six volumes, London, 1850-88.

16. Burnell, *Vaṃṣabrāhmaṇa*, p. XXXIX, Anm.

17. Roth, *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Veda*, 1846.

18. Böhtlingk—Roth, *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, 7 volumes, St. Petersburg, 1852-1875.

19. "..... that a conscientious European interpreter of the Veda may be far more correct and be able to understand better than Sāyaṇa."

the keys of common analogies, they could discover the deep sense and meaning of Vedic poetry.²⁰

The followers of this method of interpretation of the Veda were called "the Linguistic school," and as a result of the labours of this school there soon appeared some works on the Vedas, the two most important and representative among them being the German Dictionary and Translation of the Rgveda by H. Grassmann.²¹

There were, however, some notable exceptions of scholars who were disinclined to follow Roth in his crusade against the Indian commentators. Feeling that the results of the Indian tradition as represented in Yāska and Sāyaṇa should be combined with the data afforded by linguistic researches of the Western Scholars, A. Ludwig prepared another German translation of the entire Rgveda with exhaustive explanatory notes (six volumes, Prague-Leipzig, 1876-88). This attempt, which was decidedly better and bolder than that of Grassmann, lacks, unfortunately, in both clearness and compactness of exposition.

The French Savant, A. Bergaigne held that the whole of the Rgveda was to be explained allegorically and he tried to prove this in his invaluable studies, later embodied in *La religion védique d'après les hymnes du Rig-Veda* (3 volumes, Paris, 1878-83) and *Études sur le lexique du Rig-Veda* (Paris, 1884). One of his pupils, P. Regnaud, on the other hand, asserted that the whole of the Rgveda was composed to meet the ends of the sacrificial ritual.²²

The most important of all these Western attempts was, however, the publication of the now well-known *Vedische Studien* (pts. I-III, Stuttgart, 1889-1901) in the form of a series of essays by the two scholar-friends, Pischel and Geldner. Curiously enough, both of them had their initiation into the science of Vedic interpretation through Roth, to whose one-sided linguistic theories, the *Vedische Studien* held a direct challenge. In these essays, Pischel and Geldner minutely interpreted the words, phrases, single hymns and groups of the hymns of the Rgveda. The guiding principle of their programme was, in short, that the Rgveda is an Indian—not merely Indo-Germanic as their predecessors had believed, monumental document, and must be accepted and explained as such : the religion, the thought and the language of the Vedas must be interpreted not only from themselves but also by the use of the later Brahmanic literature, the knowledge of which is indispensable for any student of the Vedas. This doctrine of Geldner and Pischel was at first ridiculed by the dominant 'linguistic' school who took it to be 'a hopeless and senseless heresy.' A great storm of controversy arose but lasted only a short time. The critical acumen and ingenuity of research of the two friends clearly showed in the three volumes of *Vedische Studien* the manner in which many of

20. M. Patel, *Modern Review* for May 1929, p. 562.

21. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, Leipzig 1873; *Rig-Veda Übers.*, 2 volumes, Leipzig 1876-77.

22. Cf. *Le Rig-Veda*, Paris, 1892.

the R̥gvedic ideas subsequently had found expression in the Brāhmaṇas and even in later religious literature, too. This was a positive proof to show that the R̥gveda was thoroughly Indian, that it was the earliest document of Hindu culture, and that the gulf between the earliest culture of the European Aryans and that of the Vedic age was too big to be bridged through any amount of linguistic equations. These are the principles of Vedic interpretation for which Geldner and Pischel contended. Though in his later researches, particularly in his German Translation of the R̥gveda,²³ Geldner is seen to have modified the extreme tone of his earlier contentions, he stuck upto his last to the fundamentals of Vedic research, which he and his friend had so ably established.

We must not fail to record here the noteworthy contributions of Oldenberg and L. von Schroeder as reflected respectively in *Religion des Veda* (Berlin 1894, 2nd Edition : 1917) and *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda* (Leipzig, 1908).²⁴ They have drawn our attention very wisely, and almost for the first time, also to seek light from Comparative Religion for interpreting certain portions of the Veda.²⁴ So has Hillebrandt done, too. But some of his pet theories published in his *Vedische Mythologie*,²⁵ have to be toned down to a great extent.

In America, the Vedic studies were pursued with vigour by such eminent Orientalists as Whitney, Hopkins, Lanman and Bloomfield. The last-named savant has, through his *Vedic Concordance*²⁶ and *Rig-Veda Repetitions*,²⁷ helped us to get enlightened as to the way in which the R̥gvedic Ṛsis displayed their poetic art in the extant Saṁhitā, and it must be mentioned that a study of the character and scope and bearing of RV-repetitions yields many a helpful hint concerning the exegesis of the Vedic texts.

And last, but not the least, come the excellent studies of that great Vedist, Professor A. A. Macdonell, whose endeavour to further and popularise Vedic research is, and will always remain, an inspiration to the Vedists of the world. His two Vedic Grammars,²⁸ *Vedic Reader*,²⁹ *Vedic Mythology*,³⁰ and many scattered articles, most notable among which is the one he contributed to the volume of *Commemorative Essays presented to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal*

23. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda Übers. und erl.*, I (comprising the first four Maṇḍalas), Göttingen—Leipzig, 1923. Cf. also *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, 2 volumes, Stuttgart, 1907-09.

24. Also cf. Oldenberg, *R̥gveda, Textkritische und exegetische Noten*, 2 volumes, Berlin, 1909-12 ; *Die Hymnen des R̥gveda*, Berlin, 1888.

25. 3 Volumes, Breslau, 1891-1902. A shortened edition ("Kleine Ausgabe") of this in one volume appeared in 1910.

26. *Harvard Oriental Series*, vol. 10, 1906.

27. *Ibid.*, volumes 20 and 24, 1916.

28. *Vedic Grammar*, Strassburg, 1910 ; *A Vedic Grammar for Students*, Oxford, 1916.

29. *A Vedic Reader for Students*, Oxford, 1917.

30. Strassburg, 1897.

Bhandarkar,³¹ bring home to us the principles he himself followed,^o and would have others follow, in translating the hymns of the Ṛgveda. His searching criticism of Yāska and Sāyaṇa, in the article just referred to, evidently underestimates the aid one receives from these ancient interpreters; we wish he had also recognised the *positive* side of their attempts as much, at least, as he has harped upon their *negative* side. But he is no doubt most logical and helpful when he declares: "The greater part of the hymns of the Ṛgveda being simple and straightforward, a new scientific translation will have to be in agreement with the traditional interpretation. But owing to the isolation of the Ṛgveda as by far the oldest product of Indian literature, it contains a large amount of material which . . . the commentators did not understand. The interpretation of this material must be based on exhaustive examination of the Ṛgveda itself by a complete collection and comparison of the facts it contains, mainly in the spheres of grammar (including syntax), vocabulary, accent, and metre."³² That Professor Macdonell did not live long enough to carry out his intention of translating the whole of the Ṛgveda along these lines is a very regrettable event in the history of Vedic exegesis in modern times.

Among the living Indologists abroad, Edgerton, Konow, Keith, Renou, Sieg, Bloch, Neisser, Hertel, Barnett, Willman-Grabowska, Wüst, Debrunner and others are carrying forward Vedic researches from a variety of view-points. Edgerton has engaged himself in the study of the Vedic variants³³; Renou is busy ascertaining the value of various grammatical phenomena of the Vedic language³⁴; Neisser³⁵ is attempting to make the lexical work of Grassmann up-to-date and in line with modern Vedic researches; Hertel is going ahead, undaunted and undeterred by adverse criticism, with the researches centring round his theories of Aryan "Feuerlehre"³⁶; Wüst is working on a comparative and etymological dictionary of old-Indo-Aryan³⁷; and Debrunner is devoting his labours to taking up the thread of *Altindische Grammatik*, which, alas, Jacob Wackernagel, unrivalled scholar of linguistics and Indic Grammar, only recently dropped owing to death on May 21, 1938.

31. Poona, 1917, see pp. 3-19.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

33. *Vedic Variants*, 3 volumes (so far published), Philadelphia, 1930-34.—Edgerton began the work on Vedic Variants in collaboration with Bloomfield and is continuing it, since the latter's death, with Emenau.

34. See particularly *La valeur du parfait dans les hymnes védiques*, Paris, 1925.

35. *Zum Wörterbuch des Ṛgveda*, 2 parts (so far published), Leipzig, 1924; 1930.

36. See particularly *Die Arische Feuerlehre*, I, Leipzig, 1925; *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Awestas und des Vedas*, Leipzig, 1929; *Die Methode der Arischen Forschung*, Leipzig, 1926; and *Die Himmelstiere im Veda und im Awesta*, Leipzig, 1924.

37. *Vergleichendes und Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Alt-Indoarischen (Altindischen)*, 3 issues (stitched in one part, so far published), Heidelberg, 1935.

•With the close of this *résumé*, which is, perhaps, too short to do justice to all the attempts so far made in the field of Vedic interpretation, and yet too long for a lecture of this sort, the question at once arises : what then are the principles to be followed at the present day in translation and interpretation of the R̥gveda? My reply would be that a new translation of the R̥gveda should be scientific, accurate and justified in the light of the results of (a) the traditional interpretations, (b) the liturgy and classical Indian thought, (c) Vedic grammar and syntax, (d) comparative philology, and (e) comparative religion. Let me explain and illustrate, as briefly as possible.

The help that the traditional interpretations such as those of Yāska, Sāyaṇa and others offer us has been discussed above. In understanding some very obscure hymns, such as RV. V, 44, Sāyaṇa's guidance is most useful. Very often he has correctly supplied the missing words or phrases in elliptical passages.³⁸ His vast knowledge of the post-R̥gvedic literature, his indication of the *vinīyoga* or ritualistic application of the *īcas*, his exposition of some of the *ākhyānas* : all these are of inestimable value to a modern student of the Veda. It is true that Sāyaṇa himself is not clear about the meaning of not a few stanzas of the R̥gveda, that he offers not one or two but sometimes seven or eight interpretations, none of which may correctly hit the mark, that he has not always informed us about the authorities he is quoting, but to reject him totally for these deficiencies will be utterly foolish and futile on the part of the Vedist of today, for it would be refusing the help which might not be had from any other source at the moment, or, at least, which would otherwise cost us a very long and painful investigation. Nor can we afford to neglect the other traditional Vedic literature.³⁹ Sometimes we chance upon unexpected light from the later texts. Let me give you an example : the word *pūsyam* occurring in I, 191, 12b would very much puzzle any one who for the first time reads the R̥gveda. One cannot ascertain its meaning with the help of Sāyaṇa but MS. 3, 17 and TS. V, 4, 4, 2 would supply one with the

38. Those who have closely followed Geldner's running commentary in his German translation of the R̥gveda (see note 23 above), will readily accept this statement. From the V, VI and VII Maṇḍalas I have picked up the following passages where Sāyaṇa has correctly supplied the missing link ; V, 17, 5a; 42, 5b; 77, 2b; VI, 10, 2a; 15, 19cd; 25, 3c; 49, 12b; 64, 3cd; VII, 42, 2b.

39. For instance, the following passages in the sixth Maṇḍala alone would call for comparison with the post-R̥gveda literature ; VI, 2, 1d : Ragh. XVIII, 32. VI, 3, 2a : Kāth. 1 p. 67, 5 ; and Bṛh. Up. V, 14, 7. VI, 9, 4 : Chānd. Up. III, 13, 7 ; and Bṛh. Up. IV, 3, 9. VI, 5b : VS. 34, 3, 6 ; and Kenop. I, 1. VI, 11, 3a : Śāṅkh. Śr. VIII, 19, 1. VI, 16, 13a : VS. 11, 32 ; and TS. IV, 1, 3, 2. VI, 16, 18a : Svet. Up. II, 7. VI, 16, 19b : TBr. II, 4, 1, 2. VI, 24, 4c : Gaut. Dh. IX, 52 ; and Āp. Dh. I, 31, 13. VI, 45, 31c : VS. 18, 55. VI, 47, 28b : VS. 13, 42 ; 44, 50. VI, 48, 5ab : AV. IX, 1, 5 ; V, 26, 5 ; Śāṅkh. Gr. I, 19, 6. VI, 54, 10a : SB. III, 7, 3, 13. VI, 61, 1a : SB. I, 7, 2, 1f ; and TS. VI, 3, 10, 5. VI, 69, 8 : TS. VII, 1, 5, 5 ; SB. III, 3, 1, 13 ; Ait. Br. VI, 15, 6f. ; Tāṇḍ. XX, 15, 6 ; and TS. II, 4, 12, 4.

correct clue, namely, that we must read not *pūṣyam* but *pūṣṣam* which suits perfectly well⁴⁰ to the context and to the sense of the R̥gvedic stanza.

It is then clear that the modern Vedist must be well-versed in the Brāhmaṇical literature. Although it is wrong to seek for a liturgical purpose behind every stanza of the R̥gveda, it is undeniable that some Vedic verses were certainly meant for the sacrificial ritual. The idea of sacrifice goes back to the Indo-Iranian, perhaps also to the Indo-European, period. And like his Avestan brother, the R̥gvedic Aryan also performed sacrifices, though in a simpler form. I have already referred to the fact that many of the R̥gvedic ideas and legends are found elaborated in the later Vedic texts.

With regard to my assertion that a modern student of the R̥gveda must also know classical Indian thought, suffice it to say that many of the R̥gvedic words have kept up their original meanings, also in classical Sanskrit literature. The early Vedic interpreters of the "linguistic school" ascribed wrong interpretations to words like *āmivā*, *vāraṇā*, *ibha* just because they had refused to take any note of other Indian commentators or literature.

The importance of a thorough study of Vedic grammar and syntax before undertaking the translation of the R̥gveda is too self-evident to need any stress here. Without knowing all the grammatical phenomena and peculiarities of the R̥gvedic language⁴¹ one may easily err in explaining, say, *nāvyasā vācas* for *nāyasā vācasā* "with new speech", *paramē vyòman* for *paramē vyòmani*, *triṣú rocané* for *t. rocanéṣu*, or *īṣe yò vāryāṇām* in VIII, 71, 13b which is a nom. to *īśānām vā* (1, 5, 2b), a case of 'phrase-inflection.' But I may not dwell on the necessity of mastering the rules of Vedic grammar here any longer since that has been sufficiently emphasised by Prof. Macdonell in his above-mentioned paper. I must however inform you that Macdonell's two grammars are not enough to serve our purpose; they are, no doubt, good catalogues of the occurrences of Vedic forms, but in point of explanation and study, Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*⁴² is far superior, and no Vedist should fail to utilize it. And it goes without saying that researches of eminent Vedic scholars, Charpentier, Winternitz, Lüders, Örtel, Thieme, Rönnow, and others, besides those already mentioned in this lecture, have to be carefully and intelligently made use of.

Slowly but surely we are recognizing the part that Comparative Philology and Comparative Religion are destined to play in a modern translation and interpretation of the R̥gveda. Besides Macdonell's article, Professor Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya dealt with this topic excellently in his presidential address at the Vedic section of the Patna Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. As he said, both Comparative Philology and the native tradition should be taken as mutual correctives. Here I would only lay stress on the

40. Cf. Geldner, *Der R̥gveda Übers.*, s. v.

41. See Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, Einleitung, pp. IX-XXII.

42. Göttingen, I; II, 1; III (the last volume in collaboration with A. Debrunner) have so far appeared; 1896; 1905; 1930.

importance of knowing the language and the thought of the Avestā, particularly its oldest portion—the *Gāthās*. The linguistic phenomena, vocabulary, phrases, ideas and mythological allusions in both the Vedas and the Avesta are so common that for a proper understanding of the one, the knowledge of the other is almost indispensable. And we must not forget that the earliest hymns of the Ṛgveda contain some references reminiscent of the Indo-Iranian, and even of the Indo-European, period.

These then, friends, are the broad principles which, I believe, must be followed in preparing a new translation of the Ṛgveda. A modern critical scholar must not be tied down to any one line of interpretation, but he must judge each case on its own merits, and receive light illuminating obscure parts of the Veda, from whatever corner it might come. That an up-to-date scientific translation of the hymns of the Ṛgveda, our most ancient and most sacred literary heritage, *dhārā ṛtasya* in the words of Parāśara (himself a Ṛgvedic poet), is long overdue will be readily granted ; and if a young person like me, makes an attempt to meet this long-standing need, I hope and trust, all will sympathize with me and bid the undertaking god-speed. This is not to suggest that this translation of mine will be final or a last word in any way ; there are still many words obscure to me (e.g. *kārādhunīva* in I, 180, 8d ; *vātāpe* in I, 187, 8c. ; *pēsī* in V, 2, 2b ; *adhrij* in V, 7, 10 ; *vayākinam* in V, 44, 5b ; *pāvīravī* in VI, 49, 7a ; *etc.*), and many passages still unintelligible. But I propose to go ahead with the task, praying that God's grace and your good wishes may carry me through.

INDIAN COSTUME FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE FIRST CENTURY B. C.*

By

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Within recent years Indian culture has received wide recognition throughout the world, though unhappily the word culture, so far as Indian culture is concerned, has been mainly used to connote the contributions of India in the field of philosophic speculations and different religious systems. This partiality for Indian philosophy and religion has proved detrimental to the study of other branches of Indian culture. Indian art, one of the most potent factors of Indian culture, has received some recognition from the hands of the scholars but even its appreciation has been considerably marred by hazy, nebulous, and mystic writings which strive to give philosophical background to Indian art, without whose knowledge one should dare not look even timidly towards the great works of Indian art. But this over-emphasis on philosophical conception of artistic expressions has resulted in art losing its individuality in the intricate maze of the jugglery of philosophical terms. This philosophical interpretation denies to Indian art that power of universal appeal which is the key-note of the art which is born in the people and expresses the sentiment, the aspirations, and the life of the people.

Again the question arises whether the metaphysical speculation and abstract reasoning in the sphere of the unknown only constitute Indian culture? The answer should be decidedly in the negative. The goal of life as conceived by the Indians was the fulfilment of fourfold objects, namely, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*; to lay emphasis, nay, over-emphasis on the first and the last would be to dub *artha* and *kāma* as futile which certainly goes against the ancient dictum which lays down that *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* are not individually but collectively responsible for the proper fulfilment of life.

No doubt, philosophy and religious speculations were dear to the Indian heart, and in the mere speculative attitudes expressive of finest and most sensitive workings of human mind the Indians need not yield to anyone, but at the same time the Indians also loved life and its material aspects. In sumptuous palaces, well-laid cities, resplendent courts with hosts of servants of both sexes recruited from all nationalities with whom Indians came in contact, dancers and musicians, pastimes, amusements and festivities endowed with undreamt-of luxury, glittering ornaments and luxurious articles of dress, perfumed articles of toilet, etc., were also the aspects of Indian culture. To a philosopher these aspects of civilization may not appear of permanent value, but to a man on the street, a man who lives in the world and not outside it,

* Extension Lecture, delivered on February 25, 1939.



FIG. 1



FIG. 3



FIG. 2



FIG. 4



FIG. 5



FIG. 6



FIG. 7

these phases of culture appeal the most. These details of culture can also animate the dry bones of history. The historian by filling his narrative with minute details of the material culture of the period can reconstruct the past with greater facility than by merely chronicling facts.

For a complete picture of Indian culture, therefore, it is necessary that its material aspects should also be investigated. There is no dearth of material to make such investigation; Sanskrit, Prākṛt, Pāli, Apabhraṃśa and modern vernacular literatures supply details of the material aspects of Indian civilization. That information can be checked and supplemented by contemporary sculptures, paintings and other archæological finds. I may be allowed to strike a word of caution in this connection, that literature should not be given undue prominence; a writer however versatile cannot actually create the object before your eyes in such a vivid manner as a painter or sculptor, who therefore is more reliable. Literary antiquarianism is good in its own way but it should be avoided where more convincing proofs are at hand.

For the purpose of this paper I have selected the development of Indian costume from the earliest times to the first century B. C. The costumes from the very beginning have played a very important part in expressing the advancement of material culture of the human race. In India with its warm climate the articles of clothing in the beginning were quite simple—*dhotī*, *dupaṭṭā*, *sāṇā* and *kamarband* completed a man's equipment; and a *sāṇī* and *oṛhnī* with exuberance of ornaments were sufficient for the women. These simple articles of dress were, however, worn in different ways to give them artistic touch.

It seems that the foreigners wore *kurtā*, *chughā*, *jāmah* and trousers and pointed caps in India, though Vedic and Buddhist literature refer to sewn garments. The figures of soldiers and the Saka kings and chamberlains, etc. draped in these garments are represented in sculpture. The Indians continued to patronise their own national dress.

The Gupta renaissance gave even to the modes of wearing costumes a touch of refinement and grace hitherto unknown. The old articles of dress, namely *dhotī* and *dupaṭṭā*, with the exception of turban which was substituted by elaborate diadems, continued to be used. One interesting point in the history of the costume from the fourth to the seventh century is the prevalence of sewn garments specially on the bodies of servants, both male and female, dancers and soldiers. Kings and queens, however, go bare bodied. The draped figures may possibly indicate the foreign element in Indian population as it is known on authority of Periplus that foreign dancing girls and slaves were imported in India.

After the seventh century the costumes and ornaments as depicted in sculpture and painting assume conventionalised character and hence are not of much importance to the history of the costume. With the establishment of Delhi Sultanate, however, the Turkish element again predominated at least in the courts of the Sultāns; the teeming millions, however, continued to use the simple *dhotī*, and *pagṛī* and *dupaṭṭā*,

The Mughals in the sixteenth century brought with them the costumes of Turks and Persians, and during the time of Akbar the foundation of Mughal costume was laid which was to endure in India for more than three centuries. Each period had its own fashion, and the mode of wearing shows that the Indians were as much alive to the vagaries of the fashion as any other nation in the world.

I

The excavations at Harappā and Mohenjodaro and explorations in Western Sindh have revealed a prehistoric civilisation which so far as material achievements are concerned stands far above the Indo-Aryan culture. This civilization flourished in the third and perhaps fourth millenia B.C. and is entirely free from the vestige of Indo-Aryan influence. In that far remote period we find their society organised in large cities; the people cultivated wheat and barely and domesticated various animals including humped zebu, buffalo, short-horned bulls, sheep, pig, dog, elephant, etc. For transport they used wheeled carriages. They worked in metals. They used weapons such as bow and arrow, spear, axe, dagger and mace for war and chase. Their domestic vessels were made of earth turned on wheel, and often painted with beautiful designs. To decorate themselves the rich used ornaments made of precious metals or copper, sometimes overlaid with gold, of faience, ivory, carnelian and other stones; while the poor were satisfied with the ornaments made of terracotta or shell. They also knew the use of writing. In every way their civilization was highly developed.

The finding of numerous spindle whorls from the houses of Mohenjodaro has conclusively proved that spinning was practised by the rich and poor alike. For warmer textiles wool was used;¹ and for lighter ones cotton. A few scraps of the latter were found out sticking to the side of a silver vase. On scientific examination it was found out that the cotton used resembled the coarser varieties of the present day Indian cotton.² Marshall remarking on this discovery observes, "This discovery which is one of the most interesting of the minor discoveries made at Mohenjodaro, disposes finally of the idea that the fine Indian cotton known to the Babylonians as *Sindhu* and to the Greeks as *Sindon* was a product of the cotton-tree and not a true cotton."³

With the manufacture of cotton cloth at Mohenjodaro it is fair to assume that the dress of the people must have been varied. The thesis is not, however, supported by facts as the material at our disposal is very scanty. The two statues (Pl. I., fig. 1) depicting a male figure are represented to be wearing a long shawl which was drawn over the left shoulder and under the right so as to leave the right arm free, and in the latter case at any rate, was ample enough to cover the seated figure down to its feet.⁴ Another seated

1. Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I., pp. 32-33.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

human figure of limestone excavated by Mackay wears a kilt-like garment. "A somewhat indefinite oblique line just below the left shoulder was perhaps intended to represent a vest or shawl; but, if so, the garment would have been worn over the right shoulder; whereas in the great majority of archaic figures a garment of this description passes over the left shoulder and leaves the right shoulder bare."¹

It is difficult to say whether any tunic or loin-cloth was worn under the shawl. The male figures are invariably represented nude save for their head-dress and ornaments, while the heroes and deities represented on the amulets wear only a thin band round the loins.² One of the statues is, however, dressed in long shirt secured round the waist by a running cord.³ A mutilated human figure in seated posture wears a kilt, the upper edge of which is indicated in front.⁴

A human figure depicted on a potsherd discovered at Harappā might be wearing breeches or, alternatively, a close-clinging *dhōṭī*.⁵ The hair when arranged in short locks at the back was kept tidy by a woven fillet (Pl. I, fig. 1).⁶

The costume of women represented by the figurines is also quite simple. With the exception of jewellery these figures are nude to the waist. The skirt or *sāṛī* terminates well above the knees (Pl. I fig. 2). A very similar skirt is worn by the female figures on the amulet though it appears to be considerably shorter in front than behind.⁷ The skirt is always fastened round the waist with a girdle which in some cases appears to have been made of the strings of beads, while in other place would appear as bands of woven material secured in front by a fastener or brooch. At one place, as remarked by Mackay, a girdle of a mutilated figure is fastened in front by a very elaborate bow of some woven stuff. On other figures the skirt bears bosses of unknown material.⁸ One figure is depicted wearing a cloak,⁹ which conceals the arms and shows the breasts; it does not extend below the hem of the skirt and, as suggested by Mackay, was probably worn as extra protection to the body.¹⁰

It is not known what kind of material was employed in making the fan-shaped head-dress (Pl. I, fig. 2) worn both by men and women, though, as Mackay suggests, it might have been stiffened cotton cloth supported on a

1. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I, p. 257; Pl. CV. Nos. 60 and 61, Vol. II. Compare with the dress of *sādhū* at Sāñchi, fig. 58.

2. Mackay, *Indus Valley Civilization*, p. 103.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

4. Mackay, *Further excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, Vol. I, p. 257, Pl. LXXI, Nos. 30-32, Vol. II.

5. Mackay, *Indus Valley Civilization*, p. 103.

6. Also see Pl. XCIX, 5, 6, 8 and 9; *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Valley Civilization*, Vol. III.

7. Mackay, *Indus Valley Civilization*, p. 100.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

9. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. II, Pl. LXXV, 9.

10. Mackay, *Indus Valley Civilization*, p. 101.

framework.¹ When worn alone (without pannier-like projection) the fan-like head-dresses are often ornamented. There are sometimes round medallions at the sides, and frequently there are what may be strings of beads and cone-like ornaments.³ In some cases the head-dress appears to rise direct from the head; in others it forms a part of the coif that falls down at the back of the head where the head-dress is held in place by a band around the forehead.⁴ The pannier-like addition to the head-dress seems to be confined to the figures of the Mother Goddess.⁵ A band round the forehead apparently of some woven material served to support them. In these panniers the soot-like stains have been found, which prove that lamps were burnt in them. In the medieval times the images of Lakṣmī holding lamps in hands and also on the head are common, and Mohenjodaro figures prove that the images of Dīpa Lakṣmī is of prehistoric origin.

A very unusual head-dress is reproduced in Plate LXXV, figures 15, 16 of Mackay's 'Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro.' Besides fan-like shape and appendages there is curious stool-like object perched upon the fan. This may be either some decoration or representation of stool for carrying the images of deities as in modern India in religious processions. The figures wearing turbans are quite unusual.⁶

A scarf-like band is sometimes represented round the necks of some male figurines, which appears to be some woven stuff, for it hangs loosely and generally to one side.⁷ In most cases this scarf which is fastened close to the ends by brooch or button, was double.⁸ Mackay suggests this scarf to be the sign of some office or some particular sect.⁹

Certain clay figures also wear a loose-fitting cap with a long point, which was allowed to hang down on one side.¹⁰ A similar cap was worn by men, but in that case the point of the cap either falls over the top of the head, where it is secured by a fillet,¹¹ or terminates in a coil.¹²

II.

The Aryans whose origin is uncertain appear in India and western Asia at the same time. The Indo-Iranian separation may date to about 2500 B.C.

1. Mackay, *Ibid.*, p. 101. The top of the *oṛhni* arranged in this shape is also to be seen at Sāñchi. See fig. 50.

2. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, Vol. I, p. 261, Pls. LXXV, 32, LXXVI 13, Vol. II.

3. *Ibid.*, Pls. LXXV, 3, 8 and LXXVI, 17.

4. Marshall, *loc. cit.* I, p. 338.

5. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I, p. 260 ; Pls. LXXIII, 3, 4 and LXXV, 21-37.

6. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXVI, 16.

7. Mackay, *Ibid.*, LXXVI, 22.

8. *Ibid.*, Pl. LXXVI, 15.

9. Mackay, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 262.

10. Marshall, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 340, Pl. CLIII, 25.

11. *Ibid.*, Pl. XCIV, 11.

12. *Ibid.*, Pl. XCIV, 4.



FIG. 8

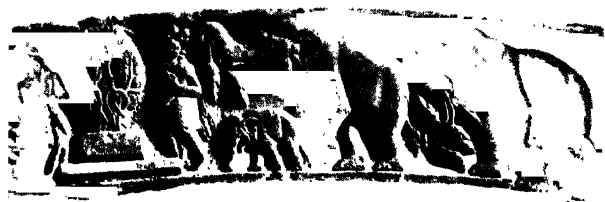


FIG. 9



FIG. 10



FIG. 11

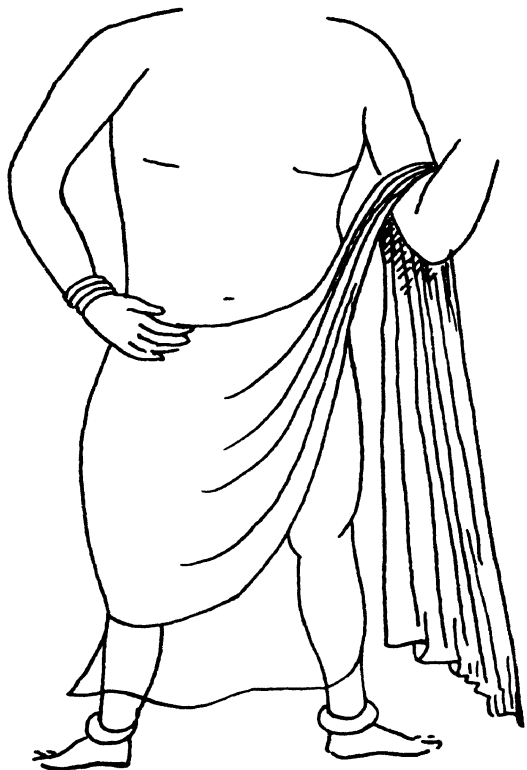


FIG. 13



FIG. 12



FIG. 14



FIG. 15

The Aryans seem to have entered India between 2000 and 1400 B.C., through Afghānistān and Hindūkush making their home first in the upper Indus valley and then expanding and settling in the upper Ganges valley and gradually reaching the sea and the Vindhyas and penetrating to the Deccan and far South.

As regards arts and crafts, Vedic Aryans were proficient in carpentry, building houses and racing chariots ; they could make vessels of *ayas* and used gold and jewellery. They knew how to weave fine cloth, knew sewing and tanning and made pottery.*

The wool was obtained from sheep (*avi*) for spinning and weaving, and hence *ūrṇāvatī*¹ is used to denote sheep and *āvika* sheep's wool.² The Indus valley region was called *suvasā ūrṇāvatī* 'woolly,' and it produced fine cotton stuff.³ Gandhāra ewes were famous for their wool.⁴ The regions through which Paruṣṇī (Rāvi) flowed also produced dyed or bleached woollen stuffs (*śundhyavah*).⁵ Pūṣan is said to weave raiment from the wool of sheep.⁶

*Kambala*⁷ together with *śāmulya*⁸ formed part of the ordinary domestic outfit of men and women. In the opinion of Dr. Sarkar⁹ the *śāmulya* may also indicate a light quilt padded with cotton wool. He also suggests that the modern word *shamlā* used for a kind of narrow shawl for turban or *kamara-band* which is derived from the Arabic *shāmilāt*, to include, should really be derived from the ancient word *śāmulya* or *śāmūla*, though, this explanation seems to be a little far-fetched. Prof. Pryzluski, however, takes *kambala* (blanket) and *simbalī* and *simbala* (silk-cotton tree) in Pāli, and *sālmali* and *sālmala* in Sanskrit as Austric loan words to the Indo-Aryan.¹⁰

The animal skins were also used as articles of clothing. The gods, munis, aborgines and vrātyas used skin clothing. The Maruts dressed in deer-skins are mentioned.¹¹ Gods alarm the enemies with coats and shields of such skins (*hariṇasya jinena*¹²). Munis wear brown and tanned skins (*piśaṅga malā*¹³). The vrātya chiefs and their followers who wear twofold (*dviśamhitāni*) skins, one black and the other white (*kṛṣṇa-valakṣa*) so as to form furlined

* For information about Vedic costume, I am indebted to Dr. Sarkar's *Some Aspects of the earliest Social History of India*.

1. R. V. VIII. 67, 3.

2. *Bṛhadā. Upa.* II. 3, 6.

3. R. V. X. 75, 8.

4. *Ibid.*, I. 126, 7.

5. *Ibid.*, IV. 22, 2 ; V. 52, 9.

6. *Ib.*, X. 26, 6.

7. A. V. XIV. 2 ; 66, 67.

8. R. V. X. 85, 29 ; A. V. XIV. 1, 25.

9. Subimal Chandra Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the earliest Social History of India*, p. 59, fn. 6.

10. *Pre-Aryan and Dravidian in India*, ed. Bagchi, pp. 6-8.

11. R. V. I. 166, 10.

12. A. V. V. 21, 7.

13. *Ib.*, X. 136, 2.

skin wraps,¹ and the aboriginal tribes wore *kṛttis* and *dūrśa* at dances² and also used *ajinas*.³

The skins of the black antelopes were commonly worn and used in traditional rituals⁴; goat-skin was also used.⁵ The trade of the furriers is also mentioned.⁶

Several other varieties of cloth are also mentioned, but there is some doubt about the materials from which they were manufactured.

Barāśi.⁷ It may be a sort of cloth manufactured from the fibres of the baras tree (a red-flowered rhododendron) growing in the north-western and sub-Himalayan regions as suggested by Sarkar.⁸

Dūrśa. Denoting some kind of cloth mentioned in the A.V.⁹ Buddhist literature also mentions *dussa* as a variety of woollen cloth. The modern *dhussā*, a sort of woollen cloth manufactured in the Panjāb, seems to be the modern representative of the ancient *dūrśa*.

*Kṣauma*¹⁰ and saffron-coloured *kṣauma* garments (*kausumbhaḥ paridhāna*¹¹) are mentioned. Dr. Sarkar translates *kṣauma* as a variety of silk¹² though in later literature it is used for linen.

Pāṇḍva was worn by the kings at the sacrifices.¹³ Dr. Sarkar suggests it to be an unbleached or dyed cotton or silken stuff.¹⁴ It is difficult to say, however, about the nature of the material from which *pāṇḍva* was manufactured. Or does *pāṇḍva* indicate the place of origin of such cloth, as Ptolemy¹⁵ refers to the country between the Jhelum and Ravi as Pāṇḍya? ¹⁶ It could not be, however, the southern Pāṇḍya Kingdom as it is not mentioned in the Vedic literature.

*Tārpya*¹⁷ is explained as modern *ṭasar* or rough silk of Bihār by Sarkar,¹⁸ though how he has reached this conclusion I am unable to say. The exact

1. *Pañca. Brā.* XVII. 1-15.

2. *A. V.* VIII. 6, 11.

3. *Ibid.*, IV. 7, 6.

4. *A. V.* V. 21, 7; VI. 1, 185.

5. *Śatapa. Brā.* III. 9, 1, 12; V. 2, 21, 24 (*ajarṣabhyasya ajinam*).

6. *Vājasa. Sam.* XXX. 15; *Taitti. Brāh.* III. 2, 13, 1.

7. *Kāṭha. Sam.* XV. 4; *Pañca. Brā.* XVIII. 9, 6.

8. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 61, fn. 3.

9. *A.V.* IV. 7, 6; VIII. 6, 11.

10. *Maitrā. Sam.* III. 6, 7; *Taitti. Sam.* VI. 1, 1, 3.

11. *Sāṅkhā. Āra.* XI. 4.

12. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 60.

13. *Śata. Brā.* V. 3, 5, 21; *Maitrā. Sam.* IV. 4, 3.

14. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 59.

15. Ptolemy, VII. 1, 89.

16. For further discussion see *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, W. W. Tran, pp. 511-12.

17. *A.V.* XVIII. 4, 31; *Taitti. Sam.* II. 4, 11, 6; *Maitrā. Sam.* IV. 4, 3; *Taitti. Brā* I. 3, 7, 1; *Śata. Brā.* V. 3, 5, 20 (worn by the kings at sacrifice; the patterns on it were called *rūpāni nisyūtāni*).

18. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, pp. 60, fn. 5.

nature of the material employed is, however, uncertain. The commentators on the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹ suggest it to be a linen garment, or one thrice soaked in ghee or one made of the *tṛpa* plant. Goldstücker and Eggeling are inclined to translate the word as silken garment.

The work of weaving was entrusted to the womenfolk.² A metaphor in the A.V. personifies night and day as two sisters weaving the web of the year, the nights as serving the warp and the days as woof.³ There are female weavers *vāyitrīs*⁴ and *sirīs*⁵; the latter is connected by Sarkar with the Tāmiḷ *silai*, cloth, also according to him in Eastern Vernaculars, *sirī*, *silī*, *silai*, *silāi* etc. mean woven stuff.⁶ The Tāmiḷ *sarigai* meaning embroidered fringe is probably connected with the Vernacular *sārī*.

Technical terms connected with weaving :

Olu, 'wool';⁷ *tantu*,⁸ 'yarn'; *tantra*,⁹ 'warp' or 'loom'; *veman*,¹⁰ 'loom'; *prācīnatāna*¹¹ 'forward stretched web'; *vāya*,¹² 'weaver'; *mayūkha*, 'peg' lead weight or shuttle.¹³

The most usual word in the Ṛg-Veda¹⁴ and later for garment is *vāsas*. The words *vasana*¹⁵ and *vastra*¹⁶ express the same meaning. The Vedic Indians had taste for beautiful garments. Thus the epithet *suvasana*¹⁷ denotes 'splendid garment' and is also used adjectively,¹⁸ 'clothing well.' *Suvāsas*, 'well-dressed,' is a common adjective.¹⁹ The term *surabhi*²⁰ denotes that the clothes were well-fitting.

There must have been the fashioners of the garments in the Vedic age. The god Pūṣan is called a 'weaver of garments' (*vāso vāya*)²¹ because of his connection with the fashioning of form. The garments worn in the Vedic age were often embroidered and the Maruts are described as wearing mantles

1. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 308, fn. 3.

2. A.V. X. 7. 42; XIV. 2, 51.

3. A.V. X. 7, 42.

4. *Pañca. Brā.* I, 8, 9; *Sata. Brā.* III. 1, 2, 13 ff.

5. *R.V.* X. 71, 9.

6. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 61, fn. 9.

7. *R.V.* VI. 9, 2, 3; XIV. 2, 51; *Taitti. Sam.* VI. 1, 1, 4.

8. A.V. XIV. 2, 51; *Sata. Brā.* III. 1, 2, 18.

9. *R.V.* X. 71, 9.

10. *Vājasa. Sam.* XIX. 83.

11. *Taitti. Sam.* VI. 1, 1, 4.

12. *R.V.* X. 26, 6.

13. *Vāja. Sam.* XIX. 80. 83.

14. *R.V.* I. 34, 1; 115, 4; VIII. 3, 24.

15. *R.V.* I. 95, 7.

16. *R.V.* I. 26, 1.

17. *R.V.* VI. 51, 4.

18. *R.V.* IX. 97, 50.

19. *R.V.* I. 124, 7; III. 8, 4.

20. *R.V.* VI. 29, 3.

21. *R.V.* X. 26, 6.

adorned with gold¹ (*hiraṇyān atkān*). The cloth had borders and fringes. The word *sic*² is a general term for embroidered border or fringe. Two lengthwise and two breadthwise borders are also indicated.³ *Ārokāh*, 'brilliant'⁴ were probably patterns. Dr. Sarkar suggests the word *ārokāh* to have been probably derived from the Tamiḻ *arukaṇi*, 'ornamented border of cloths.'⁵ For the ritual purposes unbleached cloth⁶ was used, otherwise white cloth was worn⁷ (*svityaṇcaḥ*). Dyed cloth resplendent with gold was used by gay woman typified by Uṣas.⁸ The vrātya householders, however, preferred dark blue cloth and borders.⁹

The Vedic Indian seems to have worn three garments : an under-garment (*nīvi*),¹⁰ a garment (*vāsas*), and an over-garment (*adhivāsa*)¹¹ which was presumably a mantle—the *dupaṭṭā* or *chādar* of modern times. This accords with the description of sacrificial garments given in the Śatapatha Brāh.¹²

The *nīvi* and *paridhāna*¹³ probably consisted of simple apron worn by the men and women alike. The *nīvi* has been explained by Sarkar as wider border of the cloth.¹⁴ He also gives the origin of the word *nīvi* from the Tamiḻ word *nev*, to weave.¹⁵ From the *nīvi* hang the *praghāta*, the loose and long unwoven fringe with tassels ; the other end was plainer and decorated with *tūṣa* 'chaff',¹⁶ a shorter fringe. The *vālapāna*¹⁷ is explained by Sarkar as lengthwise border protecting the cloth against wind¹⁸ which keeps the web together from becoming threadbare by fluttering in the wind.

The mode of wearing clothes is not indicated. The *vāsas* were, however, tied.¹⁹ The term *nīvimkṛ*²⁰ shows that each individual followed his or her own fashion in arranging his or her own loin-cloth in elaborate pleats and artistic waist-knots.

The upper part of the body of men and women was covered by another garment which was either a wrapper *upavasana*, *paryāṇahana*, or *adhivāsa*,

1. R.V. V. 55, 6.
2. *Aiṭa. Brā.* VII. 32 ; *Sata. Brā.* IV. 2, 2, 11.
3. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 63.
4. *Śata. Brā.* III. 1, 2, 13.
5. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 63, fn. 12.
6. *Śata. Brā.* III. 1, 2, 13.
7. R.V. VII. 33, 1.
8. R.V. I. 92, 4 ; X. 1, 6.
9. *Pañca. Brā.* XVII. 14-16.
10. A.V. VIII. 2, 16 ; XII. 2, 50.
11. R.V. I. 140, 9 ; X. 5, 4.
12. *Śata. Brā.* V. 3, 5, 20.
13. A.V. VIII. 2, 16 ; *Bṛhadā. Up.* VI. 1, 10.
14. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 63.
15. *Ibid.*, fn. 6.
16. *Taittī. Sam.* I. 8, 1, 1.
17. *Ibid.*, VI. 1, 1 ; *Kāṇhaka Samhitā* XXIII. 1.
18. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 63.
19. A.V. XIV. 2, 70.
20. A.V. VIII. 2, 16.



FIG. 16



FIG. 17



FIG. 18



FIG. 19



FIG. 20



FIG. 21



FIG. 22



FIG. 23



FIG. 24

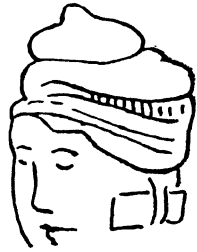


FIG. 25



FIG. 26



FIG. 27



FIG. 28

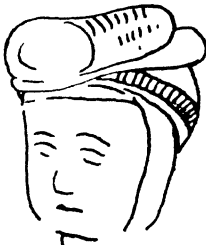


FIG. 29

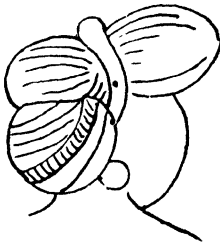


FIG. 30



FIG. 31

or a jacket, bodice or cloak-like *pratidhi*, *drāpi* or *atka*. *Upavasana* was either in the form of a scarf as in the case of a bride,¹ or like *uttariya* as in the case of the cloth of Mudgalānī that fluttered in the air.² *Paryāṇahana* is explained by Sarkar as a long and ample scarf of light texture.³ *Adhivāsa* was an overgarment worn by the princes.⁴ The *pratidhi* was a breast-cover⁵ of a bride made of one or two strips of cloth drawn across or crosswise on the bust and tied at the back.

Besides these some sewn garments are also mentioned. The word *atka* in the sense of a garment occurs in the Rg-Veda and is translated by Roth, Ludwig, Grassmann, Zimmer and others as a garment in several passages.⁶ The *atka* was confined to men and was a long⁷ and, covering fully,⁸ close-fitting⁹ cloak, bright,¹⁰ beautiful (*arjuna*)¹¹ and interwoven or embroidered with gold thread.¹² In the later Sanskrit literature the word *atka* disappears. In the Harṣacarita, however, a word *caṇḍātaka* occurs, and which has been translated by Cowell as a petticoat.¹³ The compound *caṇḍātaka* is made of the words *caṇḍa* and *ātaka*; the latter seems to be the form of the Vedic *atka*. The modern word *ackan* used for long flowing coat also seems to be derived from *atka*.

The *peśas* was gold embroidered cloth¹⁴ with artistic and intricate designs.¹⁵ When the Nṛtu appears in the *peśāmsi*¹⁶ it may mean a pleated skirt. The making of such a garment was a regular occupation of women as is indicated by the word *peśakāri*, the female embroiderer figuring in the list of the victims in the Yajurveda.¹⁷ The antiquity of the word *peśhwāz* used for the embroidered skirt of female dancers at the time of their performance is thus established.

The *drāpi* seems to have been a close-fitting¹⁸ gold embroidered¹⁹ vest²⁰

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1. A.V. XIV. 2, 49.
 2. R.V. X. 102, 2.
 3. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 66.
 4. *Sata. Brā.* V. 4, 4, 3.
 5. A.V. XIV. 1, 7.
 6. R. V. I. 95, 7 ; IV. 18, 5.
 7. R.V. II. 35, 14.
 8. R.V. V. 74, 5.
 9. R.V. VI. 29, 3.
 10. *Ibid.*
 11. R.V. IX. 107, 13.
 12. *Hiranyair vyūtam.* R.V. I. 122, 2 ; V. 55, 6.
 13. Cowell, *Harṣacarita*, p. 261.
 14. R.V. IV. 36, 7.
 15. R.V. II. 3, 6.
 16. R.V. I. 92, 4-5.
 17. *Vāja. Sam.* XXX. 9 ; *Taitti. Brā.* III. 4, *5, 1.
 18. R.V. I. 166, 10.
 19. R.V. I. 25, 13.
 20. A.V. XIII. 3, 1.

worn by men¹ and women² of social standing.

The word *uṣṇīṣa* is not used for turban in the ancient Vedic literature, though it has been used in *Atharva Veda*³ and the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*⁴ in connection with the vrātyas. In the *Yajur Veda* and the *Brāhmaṇas*⁵ the word is used in connection with the vrātyas and rājās. The latter used to wear turban at the time of Vājapeya⁶ and the Rājasūya⁷ ceremonies. Indrāṇī also wore turban⁸ as a token of her status as queen. The *uṣṇīṣa* of the vrātyas was white as day, was perhaps made of cotton,⁹ and according to the *sūtras*¹⁰ tied with a tilt and cross windings. The king tied his turban at the sacrifices in the manner in which the ends were gathered together and tucked away in front so as to cover them up.¹¹ Ordinarily it seems that the princes wore turbans with hanging ends.

Shoes are not mentioned in the early Samhitās. *Vaṭurīṇāpāda*¹² probably refers to heavy footguards used in the battlefield. *Patsaṅgīmī*¹³ as Sarkar refers,¹⁴ is used to denote somewhat clumsy foot-fasteners used by the soldiers. *Upānah* first occurs in the *Yajurveda Samhitā*,¹⁵ *Atharva Veda*¹⁶ and the *Brāhmaṇas*.¹⁷ It was used in the rituals and the vrātyas used them.¹⁸ The ritual sandals were made of antelope or boar-skin.¹⁹

III.

The period between 642-320 B.C. may be said to be the beginning of historical period of India. The kings of two dynasties ruling over Magadha include the Śaiśunāgas (ca. 642-413 B.C.) and the Nandas (ca. 413-322 B.C.). Of the former Bimbisāra (Śreṇika), the founder of New Rājagṛha and Ajāt-āśatru (Kuṇika) were contemporaries of Mahāvīra and Buddha. For the early cultural history of this period later Vedic literature including some Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Sūtras are important and on the later phase of that culture Jātakas and Vinayapiṭaka throw a flood of light.

The later Vedic literature shows that there was all-round progress in the

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1. R.V. IX. 100, 9.
 2. A.V. V. 7, 10.
 3. XV. 2, 1.
 4. XVIII. 14.
 5. *Aitareya Brā.* VI. 1; *Sata. Brā.* III. 3, 2, 3.
 6. *Sata. Brā.* V. 3, 5, 23.
 7. *Maitrā. Sam.* IV. 4, 3.
 8. *Sata. Brā.* V. 3, 5, 23.
 9. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 68.
 10. Kāt. Śrau. Sūt. XXI, 4, *triyān naddham*.
 11. *Sata. Brā.* 3, 5, 20 ff.
 12. R.V. I. 133, 2.
 13. A.V. V. 21, 10.
 14. Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 69.
 15. *Taittī. Sam.* V. 4, 4, 4.
 16. A.V. XX. 133, 4.
 17. *Sata. Brā.* V. 4, 3, 19.
 18. *Pañca. Brā.* XVII. 14-16.
 19. *Sata. Brā.* V. 4, 3, 19.

culture of the Aryans. In the metals tin, lead and silver as well as two varieties of *ayas* usually regarded as copper and iron were known. Cotton, silk, linen and woollen garments often embroidered, storeyed buildings, huts, bricks, plates, cups, spoons of gold and silver, furniture including bedstead, thrones, mirrors, jewellery, ornaments, etc. were in use.

The Jātakas show that the craftsmen were organised in eighteen guilds including the woodworkers, the smiths, the painters, and the rest expert in various crafts. The works of weaver or embroiderer (*pesakārasippa*) as well as of *naḷakāra* 'the basket maker'¹, because these professions were in the hands of the aborigines, were considered as low professions and both weavers and basket-makers were relegated to the class of despised castes. In the Bhīmasena Jātaka² the Brāhmaṇa archer calls the work of a weaver (*tantuvāya*) a miserable low work (*lāmakakamma*). In the Suttavibhaṅga³ also the professions of the basket-maker, the potter, the weaver, the cobbler and the barber (*hīnam nāma sippam naḷakāra-sippam kumbhakārasippam pesakāra-sippam cammakārasippam nahāpita sippam*) are mentioned as low.

In the Mahājanaka Jātaka cotton, silk, linen and *koṭumbara* cloths are described.⁴ Spinning and weaving seem to have been fairly common in the period of the Jātakas. Thus according to the Tuṇḍila Jātaka there were cotton fields⁵ in the neighbourhood of Benares. Women looked after the proper upkeep of such fields and were known as "keeper of the cottonfield" (*kappāsarakkhikā*) as mentioned in the Mahājanaka Jātaka.⁶ Some technical terms as regards spinning and carding are also mentioned. The woman in a story spun (*kanṭitvā*) fine thread (*sukhumasuttāni*) and made a ball (*guḷam*) of it.⁷ Bow for carding cotton is also mentioned (*kappāsapothanadhanukam*).⁸ In the time of Buddha cotton produced at Benares was used in the manufacture of cloth. Buddhist literature is full of references to the cloth of Kāśī (*Kāśi kuttama*);⁹ it was at places termed as *kāśiyāni*.¹⁰ The cloth of Benares was so famous that the commentator of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta¹¹ commenting on the term *vihiṭṭa kappāsa* (calendered cloth; modern Hindi—*kundākiyāhuā*) with which the mortal remains of a world ruler were covered, calls it the cloth of Benares (*Kāśikavattha*), which on account of the fineness of its structure did not absorb oil.¹² This fineness of the structure of Benares

1. *Takkāriya Jātaka*, IV. 251.

2. *Jātaka*, I. 356.

3. *Pācittiya* II, 2, 1.

4. *Jātaka*, VI. 47, *Kadāham kappāsakoseyyam khomakoṭumbarāni ca*.

5. *Kappāsakhetta, Jātaka*, III. 286.

6. VI. p. 336.

7. VI. p. 336.

8. VI. p. 41.

9. *Jātakas*. Vol. VI, p. 47.

10. *Jātakas*. VI. p. 500.

11. V. 26.

12. Further reference to Benares cloth, *Kāśikavattham*: *Jātakas*. I. 335; *Kāśikam* VI. 151; *Kāśikasūci-vattham* VI. 144, 145, 154.

cloth (*Vārāṇaseyyaka*) is also given in the *Majjhima Nikāya*.¹ The commentator praises the cloth of Benares because in Benares according to him fine cotton was produced; the women spinners and the weavers were clever, and the water (for bleaching) was also soft. Both obverse and reverse sides of the cloth of Benares were soft and smooth. Silk was also produced at Benares.² And it is possible that Bihar and Benares produced silk goods in those days as today. The Buddha had permitted the use of *kauseya-prāvāra*³ or silken *chādar* to the *bhikkhus*.

Linen (*kṣauma*) was also common and ordained as one of the cloths for making *cīvara* of the *bhikkhus*.⁴ It is also mentioned in the *Mahāvagga*⁵ that the blankets were made from *kṣauma* and wool. Five hundred blankets of this material were presented by the King of Kāśī to Jīvaka Kumārabhṛtya who in his turn presented them to the Buddha.

Koṭumbara was also a variety of cloth, the nature of which has not been explained. It is, however, possible that it might have been some woollen or barked or cotton stuff manufactured in the country of Audumbaras, the word *odumbara* and *koṭumbara* being synonymous according to Pryzluski.⁶

For woollen stuff the word *kambala* has been used in the Buddhist literature.⁷ In the *Jātakas*⁸ the scarlet *paṇḍukambala* of Gandhāra is praised (*indagopakavaṇṇābhā Gandhārā paṇḍukambalā*). The country of Sivi was famous for its shawls and the *Siveyyaka dussa* is praised in the *Mahāvagga*.⁹ It is also mentioned in the Sivi *Jātaka*¹⁰ where the King of Kosala is said to have presented one Dasabala with a cloth piece from Sivi costing hundred thousand pieces of money (*satasahassagga-hanakam siveyyakavattham*). The word *dussa* still lives in the modern Hindī and Panjābī as *dhussā*, which is used for a particular type of woollen *chādar*. Another variety of cloth which might have been manufactured from wool was known as *vāhītika*¹¹ which was sent by Ajātaśatru to Prasenajit, who in his turn offered it as present to Ānanda. This cloth measured sixteen hands in length and eight in width. The use of *namtaka* (H. *namdā*)¹² 'felt' and *kojava*, 'fluffy blanket' being luxurious woollen goods, was forbidden to the *bhikkhunis*.¹³

1. II. 3. 7.

2. *Jātakas. Trans.* VI, p. 77.

3. *Mahāvagga*. VIII. 1, 36.

4. *Ibid.*, VIII, 3, 1.

5. *Ibid.*, VIII. 2.

6. *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, Tr. by Bagchi, p. 160.

7. *Mahāvagga*. VIII. 3, 1.

8. *Jātakas*. Vol. VI, p. 500.

9. *Ibid.*, VIII. 1, 29. The Sivi republic was situated in Southern Panjāb. The seat of the republic was Sibipur, the modern Shorkot.

10. *Ibid.*, IV. p. 401.

11. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 4, 8. The cloth seems to have been manufactured in Vāhita country which existed in ancient time between the Indus on the west and the Sutlej and Beas rivers.

12. *Culla*. X. 10, 4.

13. *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 1, 36.



FIG. 32



FIG. 33



FIG. 34



FIG. 35



FIG. 36



FIG. 37



FIG. 38



FIG. 39

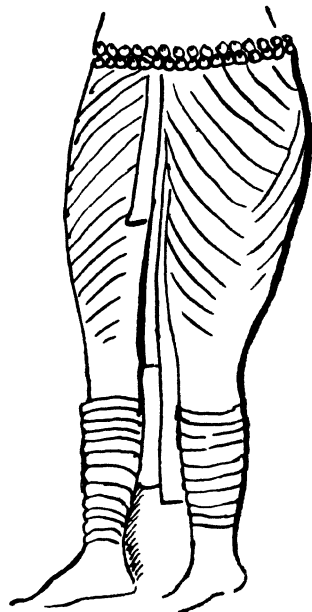


FIG. 40



FIG. 41

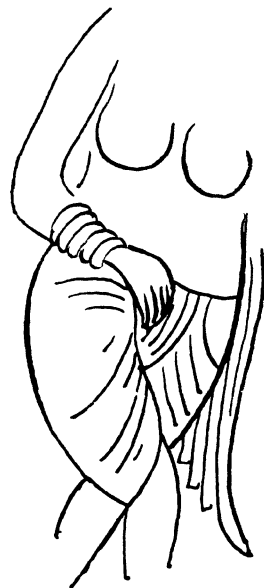


FIG. 42

*Besides these varieties, cloth made from hemp (*śana*; Hindī, *san*)¹ and *bhāga* were also produced. I am informed by Prof. Jayachandra that a cloth from the fibre of *bhāg*-tree is still produced in the Kumaon district of U. P. and is known as *bhāgelā*. Skin (*ajina*) as material for clothing is mentioned in the Jātakas.² It seems that in those days the skins of lion, tiger, leopard, cow and deer were used for clothing as well as for bedsheet, etc.³ In the Madhyadeśa (United Provinces and Bihar) the skins of *eragu*, *moragu*, and cats (*majjāru*), and in the *Dakṣiṇāpatha* the skins of rams, goats and deer served as coverlets,⁴ and even in the case of the *bhikkhus* for whom no kind of skin clothing or bedding was allowed a concession was made in these countries.

The above mentioned varieties of cloth were ordained by the Buddha for the use of the *bhikkhus* as well, but there are other varieties which though used by certain people in that time were forbidden to the clergy. In this category come cloth from *kuśa* grass (*kuśa cīra*),⁵ bark (*balkala*), wood (*phalaka*), human hair (*kesa-kambala*, *bāla-kambala*), the feathers of an owl as clothing, the strips of deer-skin (*ajinakṣip*) and cloth made from fibrous stalks of *mandāra*.

Patterned and coloured garments were also prohibited to the *bhikkhus*. The dyed garments prohibited to the *bhikkhus* and therefore in fashion among the laymen were dyed in indigo, yellow, crimson, majenta, black and turmeric (*halā*).⁶ The use of cloth with cut borders (Hindī : *kaṭikīnārī*), long borders, embroidered borders, the borders in the shape of serpent's hood (decorated with palmette ?) befitting the laymen were prohibited. The use of *kañcuka* or tunic⁷ was also prohibited.⁷

The dress of the *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs* was the same. It consisted of three garments, all of which were dyed yellow ; the first was *saṅghāṭī* or double waist-cloth ; the second *antarvāsaka* or upper garment and the third *uttarāsaṅga* or mantle.⁸ Besides these garments a sheet for sitting (*prtyustaraṇa*), a *kaṇḍūka-praticchādana*, measuring four span long and two broad,⁹ or *koṭṭīna* when suffering from itches ; *vārṣikasātikā*, or a spare loin-cloth measuring lengthwise six spans and breadthwise 2½ spans from Buddha's hand,¹⁰ for the rainy weather¹¹ were also allowed.

The *bhikkhunīs* also seem to have been allowed the use of *kañcuka*

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1. *Ibid.*, VIII. 3, 1.
 2. Vol. VI, 500.
 3. *Mahāvagga*, V. 10, 5, 7.
 4. *Ibid.*, V. 13, 6.
 5. *Mahāvagga*. VIII. 28, 2-3.
 6. *Ibid.*, VIII. 29, 1.
 7. *Ibid.*
 8. *Ibid.*, VIII. 13, 4-5.
 9. *Bhikkhupātimokkha*, V. 39, 90 ; *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 17, 2.
 10. *Ibid.*, V. 39, 91 ; *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 18, 1.
 11. *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 5, 6.

(bodice) because at one place it is mentioned¹ that the *bhikkhunī* who went to a village without bodice had to perform *prāyaścitta*.

The *bhikkhus* were also allowed the use of *āyoga-paṭṭa* (a piece of cloth passed round both legs and tied at the back). The use of loom (*tantaka*) with shuttles (*vemaka*), strings (*vaṭṭa*), tickets (*salākā*) was also permitted.² Kamarbands (*kāyabandha*) of two varieties, i.e., ordinary and intricately woven *paṭṭis*, were allowed.³ To safeguard the borders and edges of the *kamarband* the edges were turned back and sewn; this particular mode of sewing is called *śobhaka*, and also the edges were sewn, the stitches forming rhombus pattern called *guṇaka*.⁴ The clasp (*viṭṭha*) was also allowed in the *kamarband*. It was made of bone, conch-shell and thread or yarn; the clasps made of silver and gold were strictly prohibited.⁵ The use of button (*gaṇṭhi*, *ghuṇḍī*) and fastener (*pāsaka*, *H. muddhī*) was also allowed. The buttons were to be made from bone, conch-shell and yarn but never from gold or silver. Separate pieces of cloth were stitched to the garment on which buttons and fasteners were attached.⁶

Various technical terms and implements employed in sewing are also given. Thus the *bhikkhus* who sewed their garments with the quills obtained from the feathers of hen and bamboo needles were allowed the use of needles (*sūcī*) which were kept in a holder (*sūcī nalikā*) coated with wax.⁷ The primitive arrangement for sewing the garment was to stretch the cloth by fixing its ends with nails. The Buddha, however, allowed the use of frame, etc., which in all probability were used by laymen. The wooden frame with its string fasteners was known as *kaṭhina*, this was spread on a cushion of straws on even ground to avoid its contact with dust. The frame with its upright (*daṇḍa kaṭhina*), wooden pegs (*pidalaka*), bamboo wedges (*salākā*), strings for tying and thread for sewing were allowed.⁸

The aesthetic sense in sewing was also not left unheeded. Thus to avoid irregular stitches (*suttāntarikā*), the cloth was folded to get parallel lines (*kalambaka*), and also long stitches (*mogha-suttaka*) were employed for having the stitches straight.⁹

As regards the implements employed in sewing we have already spoken about the needle. Thimble (*pratigraha*) was also used to avoid needle pricks.

1. *Bhikkhunīpātimokkha*, IV. 40, 96.

2. *Cullavagga*, V. 20, 2.

3. *Ibid.*, V. 29, 2.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, V. 29, 3.

7. *Ibid.*, V. 11, 2.

8. *Ibid.*, V. 11, 3.

9. *Ibid.*

It seems that gold and silver were employed for manufacturing thimbles chiefly for the well-to-do; for the *bhikkhus* thimbles made from bone and conch-shell etc., were only prescribed. Scissors (*satthaka*) were also known, and as the scissors and thimble were prone to be mislaid small bag (*āvesana viitthaka*) was used to hold them.¹

The dress of the laymen consisted of the three parts, *antarvāsaka* or loin-cloth, *uttarāsāṅga* or a mantle for covering the upper part of the body and *uṣṇīsa* or turban. Tunics were also worn by men³ and women.⁴ No further details are given about this garment; it might have been like a modern *kurtā* or a jacket or a coat hanging down as low as the hip or lower down to the legs.

Certain modes of wearing the loin-cloth, etc., are also given, such as *hasti-śaundika* 'elephant trunk' in which according to the *Aṭṭhakathā* the pleated end was made to fall down in the same way as the pleated end of the *sāris* of the women of Cola country; in the *matsyavālaka* style the long and short borders were pleated in the shape of a fish tail; in the *catuṣkarnaka* style four ends of the garment were shown, this was only possible either in the case of *uttarāsāṅga* or tunic (*kañcuka*); cut at sides; in the *tālavṛntaka* style the hanging pleated end of the loin-cloth was shaped like palmette; in the *śatavallika* style many pleats and creases were shown. In wearing the cloth the end was tucked behind; this was, however, forbidden to the *bhikkhus*.⁴

There were many fashionable ways of tying the *kamarband* (*kāyabandhana*). It had different names in accordance with the fashion in which it was worn. Thus *kalāvuka* expresses the *kamarband* made of many strings plaited together (Pl. II, fig. 5); *dedḍubhaka* is literally 'shaped like a water-serpent's hood' i.e. the knot tapering to one end; *muraja* is 'tom-tom'-shaped (Pl. I, fig. 3); girdle with ornament hanging from it is *maddavīna*.⁵

The fashion of wearing *kamarband* and *paṭkā* in various styles and of various materials was very common among the womenfolk of that period. This fashion was forbidden by the Buddha to the *bhikkhunīs*. They were allowed to tie only one round of the *kamarband* round their waist, and the fashion of wearing *paṭkā* arranged in various artistic ways was absolutely forbidden to them. *Paṭkās* were made from the following materials: *vīliva* (made from the woven bamboo fibres), leather (*carmapaṭṭa*), *dussapaṭṭa* (woollen cloth), plaited woollen cloth (*dussa-veṇī*), fringed cloth (*dussavaṭṭī*),

1. *Ibid.*, V. 11, 5.

2. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 29, 1. *Kañcuka* is also mentioned in the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* (Bühler, p. 14.)—*veṣṭityupaveṣṭito kañcukyo-pānaho-pādukī*.

3. *Bhikkhunīpātimokkha*, IV. 40, 96.

4. *Cullavagga*, V. 29, 4.

5. *Ibid.*, V. 29, 2.

cloth from Cola,¹ intertwined strips of cola-cloth (*colaveni*), and fringes imported from Cola (*cola-vaṭṭi*), plaited strips of cotton cloth (*sutta vaṭṭhī*), and twisted yarn.²

Shoes and sandals of different shapes, colours and materials formed an important article of the costume. The shoes were of one or two or three linings, and the leather with which they were made was dyed yellow, red, majenta, black or in various colours. As these shoes were used by the general populace their use was forbidden to the *bhikkhu* to whom only single-soled shoes were allowed,³ though in the case of old shoes this rule was relaxed.⁴

The shoes that covered the ankles, (moccasins? *putabaddha*, fig. 64) full boot (*paḍigunṭhima*), the shoes padded with cotton-wool (*tūlapunnika*), shoes shaped like the wings of a partridge (*tittirapattika*), shoes decorated with the horns of ram and goat, shoes with curved points like a scorpion's sting, shoes decorated with peacock feathers, etc. were in great fashion in those days. They were of course forbidden to the *bhikkhus*.⁵

In the frontier towns where Buddhism had made little or no impression, shoes manufactured in that *gaṇa* were allowed to be worn by the *bhikkhus*.⁶ Shoes were also made from the skins of tiger, lion, leopard, deer, otter, cat, squirrel and owl.⁷ Such was the fashion of shoes in those days that similes from the profession of cobbler (*cammakāra*) have crept in literature. It is said in the Kāma Jātaka,⁸ that as gradually the desires are annihilated the happiness is born in the same way as the cobbler when he shapes his shoe cuts off rough ends and leaves them plain (*rathakāro va cammassa parikantam upāhanam*).

The wooden sandals (*pādukā*) and the sandals made from palm^u leaves

1. The word *cola* is used to denote cloth as *cola vastra*; fringes—*cola vaṭṭhi*, *cola veni*, and also sewn garments both male and female, such as *cola*, *colaka colī*, *colikā*, *kañcolikā*. The word *cola* it seems signifies the place of origin of *cola* cloth as well as sewn garment. The generally acceptable identification of Cola country of course would be the Cola country in the Deccan, but there are two objections against this identification; firstly the word *cola* occurs in both Pre-Christian Pāli and Sanskrit literature when historically there was little trace of southern Cola; and secondly Cola could not signify sewn garment as southern India seems to have been the last to adopt sewn garments. Prof. Jayachandra identifies northern Cola occurring in the conquest of Arjuna in the Sabhāparva with the sandy and hilly south western part of Balch, the ancient Bactria, which is still called Cola, and it is quite possible that a tunic like sewn garment was introduced in India from that country.

For the identification of Cola see Jayachandra Vidyalamkar, *Bhārat-bhūmi aur uske nivāsi*, Sam. 1987. pp. 133, 313, 319.

2. *Cullavagga*, X. 10, 1.

3. *Mahāvagga*, V. 2, 1.

4. *Ibid.*, V. 3, 2.

5. *Mahāvagga*, V. 2, 3.

6. *Mahāvagga*, V. 13, 6.

7. *Ibid.*, V. 2, 4.

8. IV. 172.

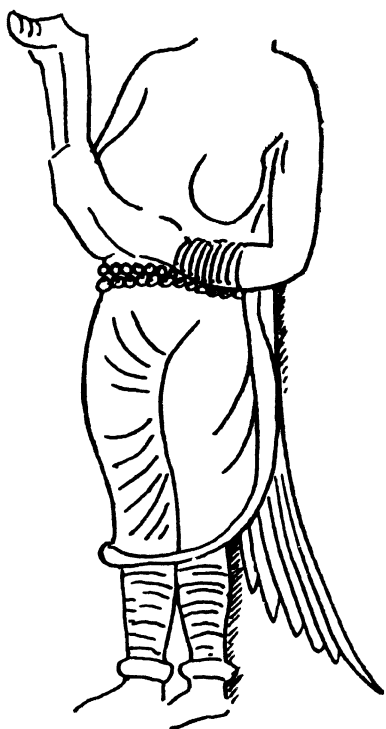


FIG. 43

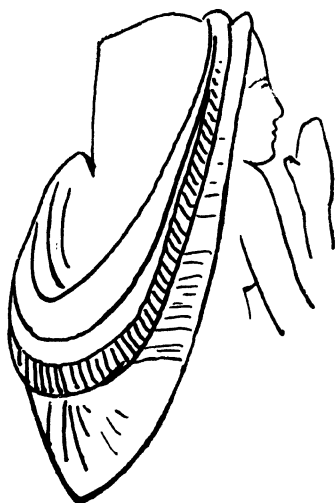


FIG. 45



FIG. 44



FIG. 46



FIG. 47



FIG. 50



FIG. 48



FIG. 51



FIG. 49



FIG. 52

and bamboo used by laymen were forbidden to the *bhikkhus*.¹ It is possible however, that the sandals made from the above materials and also from straws, *muñja*-grass, *hintāl* wood, *kamala*, *balvaja* grass and blankets which were also forbidden to the *bhikkhus*, were used by the people. The sandals decorated or made from gold, silver, jewels, beryl, crystal, bronze, glass, tin and copper were used by some people.²

IV.

Candragupta Maurya ascended the throne of Magadha about 320 B.C. His grandson Aśoka (272-232 B.C.) was one of the greatest rulers of India. He was an ardent Buddhist who sent missionaries to other parts of India and Ceylon and also to other distant corners of the world. His rock and pillar edicts inculcate the teaching or *dharma*, and he is said to have built innumerable *stūpas* for the propagation of Buddhism. The empire included the whole of northern India from east to west, Afghānistān and Kashmīr, and the Decan with the exception of the far south which remained independent. The later Mauryas ruled till 184 B.C. and were succeeded by the Śungas and later on by the Kanvas. Meanwhile the Sātavāhanas who possessed many walled towns in the Kistna-Godawarī (later Vengī) delta extended their domain to Poona and Ujjain; their dynasty lasted for four and half centuries. The dominant power in the Panjāb and at Mathurā between 70 B.C.-20 A.D. were the Sakas.

For studying the history of Indian costume we have abundant material in sculptures and bas-reliefs giving a much better picture of Indian costume than the scrappy references from literature. Some important information, however, about the costumes and the materials from which they were prepared could be gleaned from the Indika of Megasthenes, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, and certain portions of the Sabhā Parva of the Mahābhārata which seems to have been composed in the second century B.C. That the fashions in costume as revealed in the Jātakas and Vinayapiṭaka continued to be in vogue in the Maurya and Śunga-Sātavāhana periods is supported by the individual pieces of sculptures and bas-reliefs.

In the Arthaśāstra³ a full chapter is devoted on the duties of the superintendent of weaving. Therein it is mentioned that in the weaving department threads (*sūtra*), coats (*varma*), cloths (*vastra*) and ropes (*rajju*) were manufactured. The materials employed for spinning were wool (*ūrṇa*), fibres (*balka*), cotton (*karpāsa*), tūla, hemp (*śana*) and flax (*kṣauma*).⁴ It is also noteworthy that only women were employed for spinning as in the Vedic age, and their wages depended on the fineness of the yarn which they spun.⁵ The weavers, who manufactured linen (*kṣauma*), *dukūla* cloth from the

1. *Mahāvagga*, V. 7, 1.

2. *Ibid.*, V. 8. 3.

3. *Arthaśāstra*, ed. R. Shama Shastri, pp. 113-14.

4. *Ibid.*, 113.

5. *Ibid.*, 114.

fibres of *dukūla* plant, silk (*kṛmitāna*, Hindī *katān* used for finest quality of white silk yarn), woollen stuff (*rāṅkava*)¹ and cotton cloth, received besides their wages, presentations of scents, garlands and other gifts by the way of encouragement. In this department bed-sheets (*vastrāstarāṇa*) and curtains (*prāvarāṇa*) were also manufactured.²

In the Maurya and the subsequent periods cotton seems to have been in great demand for manufacturing cloth, and as the Greeks did not know how the cotton was produced they thought it to be the wool growing on trees.³ In the *Sabhā Parva*⁴ the name of a country known as Kārpāsika shows that cotton was grown there in abundance. Unfortunately the country has not been identified as yet.

The places from which wool and the woollen goods, skins, etc. came to India are also mentioned in the *Sabhā Parva*.⁵ Thus it is said that the Kāmbojas (the people of Badakshān and Pāmīr) presented Yudhiṣṭhira at the time of the Rājasūya with woollen cloth (*aurṇa*) embroidered with gold (*jātarūpapariṣkṛtān*) which must have been probably embroidered shawl, and the skins of the animals that live in holes (*bailān*) and of wild cats (*vārṣadamśān*) which were furs probably of the animals of martin and weasel families. The Ābhīras brought woollen cloth of various designs (*kambalān-vividhān*)⁶ which were not made from cotton (*vastram akārpāsam*)⁷ but manufactured from the soft wool of the sheep (*āvikaṃ*) and shaggy goat (*ajinaṃ*), also shawls manufactured from the wool and the hair of deer (*rāṅkavaḥ*)⁸ which were of good colour and dimensions and were manufactured in Cīna and Vālhika.

Silk already mentioned in the Arthaśāstra is referred to in the Mahābhārata⁹ as *kūṭaja* which was the product of Cīna and Vālhika. The seric of Strabo is real silk which was believed to have been produced from some sort

1. Rāṅkavaḥ. Woollen goods produced in the Rāṅku country. The commentator of Pāṇini IV. 2, 133, counts Rāṅku as one of the 16 countries belonging to the *Kacchādī* class. The Rāṅku country may be identified with Mallā (upper) Johar in north-western corner of Almora and Mallā Dānpur situated in west and south-west of Johar. The Rangkas language on the basis of which this country may be assigned the name of ancient Rāṅku is spoken in one village in Mallā Johar and in four villages of Mallā Dānpur, the total number of people speaking Rangkas being only 614, all of them being Bhoṭiās. The area of ancient Rāṅku must have been much bigger than at present; its reduced area being due to the absorption in Aryan speaking tracts. Linguistic survey of India, Vol. III. P. I, p. 479.

2. *Ibid.*,

3. Herodotus III. 106; McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 4; Strabo XV. 20, (*ibid.* 25.)

4. *Mahābhārata*, ed. Kinjavadekar, Poona 1929, II. 51, 8.

5. *Ibid.*, II, 51, 3.

6. *Ibid.*, II. 51, 13,

7. *Ibid.*, II, 51, 27.

8. *Ibid.*, II. 51, 26.

9. *M.B.* II, 51, 26.

of byssos bark by combing the fibres.¹ McCrindle in an interesting note² tells us that the first ancient author in Grecian literature who refers to the use of silk is Aristotle (H.A. V. 19). According to him raw silk was brought from the interior of Asia and manufactured at Kôs. Is the word *kaūseya* used for silk in Sanskrit derived from the town of Kôs where it was manufactured? Perhaps Pāṇini who gives special *sūtra* for the formation of *kaūseya*³ refers to the town of Kōsa and not to the cocoons.

The costume of Indians as described by Arrian⁴ who derived his information from Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador of Seleucus to the court of Cāndragupta Maurya remained practically the same till the end of the first century B.C. This fact is further supported by the detached Yakṣa statues from Parkham and Barodā in the Mathurā Museum, the Yakṣa figures and a statue of Yakṣiṇī from Besnagar in the Indian Museum, and the image of a Yakṣiṇī from Dīdārganj in the Patnā Museum which have been ascribed to the Maurya period, though their dates are not finally settled and about which there is a lot of controversy; the bas-reliefs of Bharhut which may be ascribed to the last quarter of the second century B.C. and the bas-reliefs of Sāncī which belong to the first century B.C.

The Parkham Yakṣa wears a loin-cloth with an elaborate frill hanging in front held round the loins with a girdle tied in a knot at the pelvis with two ends hanging down to the knees. A scarf is tied round the chest with a loop hanging on the protruding belly. A similar scarf is worn by the Yakṣa figure from Barodā.⁵

The clothing of the Yakṣa figures which are assigned to the Maurya period by Majumdar⁶ is the same. The loin-cloth is fastened round the waist by a belt (*kamarband*) tied in a bow with a long loop and two tasseled ends hanging down in front. At the back the loin-cloth reaches the ground but it is slightly raised in front to show the bare feet. A broad scarf crosses the left shoulder to the right hip, hanging down in a loop in front of the bracelet and in a long train behind.

Turban is absent from these sculptures but a stone head from Sāmāth probably belonging to this period wears a *pagṛī* of the same style as found in Mughal paintings.⁷

The dress of women in the latter Maurya period is perhaps indicated by two Yakṣiṇī figures, one from Besnagar and the other from Dīdārganj. The

1. Strabo, II. 14, 20; McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 26.

2. *Ibid.*, fn. 2.

3. *kośūd-dhañi*, IV. 3, 42.

4. "They wear an undergarment of cotton which reaches below the knee half way down to the ankles and also an upper garment which they partly throw over their shoulders, and partly twist in folds round their heads." McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 219.

5. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl. V, fig. 15.

6. *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, p. 6.

7. Coomaraswamy, *loc. cit.*, Pl. VI. fig. 18.

latter wears a loin-cloth reaching to the ankles and secured to the waist with a five-stringed girdle. A *paṭkā*, or *phāsukā* as it was called in the Buddhist literature, with one looped end tucked in loin-cloth and the other hanging in between the feet is also represented. A twisted scarf hangs down from the right shoulder. The Besnagar Yakṣiṇī wears a loin-cloth reaching a little below the knees and fastened to the waist with a five-stringed girdle over which she wears a loose *kamarband* tied in a bow-shaped knot with one loop hanging down. The *paṭkā* which she has tucked to her loin-cloth a little below the navel has pleated borders.

The bas-reliefs of Bharhut have preserved for us a good picture of Indian costume and its mode of wearing. The loin-cloth or *dhotī* is the chief article of male costume. It consists of a piece of cloth wound round the waist and then gathered in front, passed between the legs, and tucked behind. In the Bharhut sculptures the *dhotī* universally reaches below the knees and down to the midleg. It is also remarkable that the *dhotīs* are absolutely plain without any kind of animal or floral decoration though the Greek writer Strabo remarked that the Indians wore robes worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones, and they also wore flowered garments made of the finest muslin.¹

The loin-cloth is fastened securely to the waist with a *kamarband* or *phēṭā* tied in bow-shaped knot with a loop hanging on one side and two free ends of the *kamarband* on the other (Pl. I, fig. 3). *Paṭkā* (decorative piece of cloth made to hang between the legs attached to the *kamarband*) either made of narrow band of embroidered cloth² (Pl. I, fig. 4) or plain cloth³ with sufficiently long fringes at both ends, was also made with loose strings with ornamental tassels at both ends⁴ (Pl. II, fig. 5) or simple cords without tassels.⁵

Above the waist the body is represented quite bare except for a light scarf. It was worn in several ways. The commonest fashion was to wear the scarf on both shoulders and pass both ends through armpits and make them to hang delicately balanced on the elbows; this was specially done at the time of worship (Pl. II, fig. 6); (2) one end was hung down and the other thrown at the back; (3) both ends were thrown at the back; (4) it was not passed through the armpit but simply made to hang down the chest; (5) in some cases the scarf was passed round the body and the end was thrown over the left shoulder.

The turban (*uṣṇīṣa*, *veṣṭānī*) is worn by men. They were of two kinds. In the lighter turban (Pl. II, fig. 7) the hair was gathered in top-knot and the two bands of the scarf crossed exactly above the middle of the forehead also

1. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 70.

2. Barua, *Barhut—Aspects of Life and Art*. Pl. LVIII. fig. 63.

3. *Ibid.*, fig. 64.

4. *Ibid.*, Pl. LV. fig. 60.

5. *Ibid.*, fig. 58.



FIG. 53

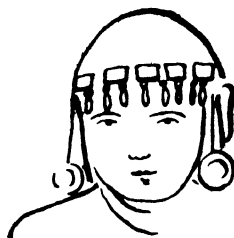


FIG. 56



FIG. 54



FIG. 57



FIG. 55



FIG. 58



FIG. 59



FIG. 60



FIG. 61

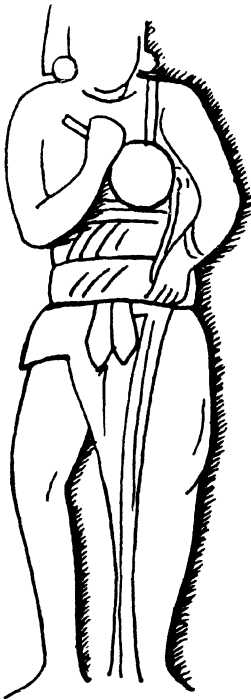


FIG. 62

cover the knot to which both ends of the scarf are tied. This light turban leaves much of the hair exposed. In the heavier turban, however, the whole head is covered (Pl. I, fig. 3 ; Pl. II, fig. 5 & 6 ; for the manner of winding turban on head see Pl. III, fig. 8).

We have already observed previously that the tunic or coat (*kañ-cuka*) was worn by men and women. In the sculptures of Bharhut, however, coat has been represented only twice. On the outside of the lower architrave of a gallery, a scene is represented in which a royal figure identified by Baur¹ as king Dhanabhūti, the builder of Bharhut Gateway, is depicted worshipping a Bo-tree (Pl. III, fig. 9). The attendant wears a full sleeved jacket whose sides at the end are rounded. The collars, sleeves, cuffs and the open ends are decorated with what appears to be ribbon. He also wears the usual loin-cloth and turban. Another male figure (Pl. III, fig. 10) who is identified by Dr. Barua² as Mihira the sun god of Uttarāpatha, also wears a coat with full sleeves reaching nearly to the mid-thigh ; the open sides on the thighs are curved. It is tied at two places by cords ; at the throat by a cord with bow tassels ; and across the stomach by a double-looped bow. His head is bare and the hair is fastened at the back of the head with a broad band or ribbon. His loins and thighs are covered with a *dhōṭī* from which hangs the *paṭkā*. He also wears a pair of boots reaching high up the legs. From his left leg hangs a sling with which is attached a dagger. In fact he gives a very good picture of a soldier probably from the N. W. Frontier.

That the fashion of wearing coat was in vogue is also indicated by terracotta figurines of Śunga period found at different sites. Thus a figure of a man squatting with knees drawn up found at Bhītā wears a sleeved coat like the modern *chughā* which is open but provided with loop and knot to fasten it across the chest.³

Tunics (*kurtā*) were also occasionally worn in this period. One of the soldiers represented on the railing of Stūpa II at Sāncī⁴ fighting with a lion wears a half-sleeved tunic reaching to the knees fastened round the waist with a *kamarband*. He also wears a headdress resembling a hemispherical cap with a knot at the top and full boots. In the Indra relief at Bhājā (Coomaraswamy, *loc. cit.*, Pl. III, fig. 27) the standard-bearer seated behind Indra who is riding the elephant Airāvata, wears a long-sleeved tunic with crenellated end. The tunic as usual is held round the waist by a *kamarband*.

In the Bharhut sculptures the women of all classes are represented wearing *sārī* or *dhōṭī* whatever we may choose to call it, exactly in the same way as the men (Pl. I, fig. 4, Pl. IV, fig. 11). The *sārī* of present day reaches to the ankles but in Bharhut sculptures it reaches very little below the knees, and the outer edge is gathered together in a continuous succession of equal-

1. Barua, *Ibid.* II. Pl. XX.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II. Pl. LXII, fig. 71. List of illustrations page 4.

3. ASR. 1911-12, p. 74.

4. Coomaraswamy, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XIV., Fig. 51.

sized stiff folds. The *sāri* is fastened to the waist with an elaborate girdle and *kamarband* tied in a bow-shaped knot with a loop hanging on one side and both tasselled ends of the *kamarband* hanging on the other. The *kamarband* was at times embroidered¹ (Pl. I, fig. 4). The *pañkā* or ornamental cloth suspended with the *kamarband* and hanging in between the feet is also very common—the one decorated with zig-zag is fairly common ;² elaborate *pañkās* made of stringed beads are also worn.³

The upper part of most of the female figures in Bharhut reliefs seem to be devoid of clothing. But it is different in the case of the figure of Yakṣiṇī Candā (Pl. IV, fig. 11), which has got the marks of the fold of light muslin, under the right breast.⁴

The heads of the women in Bharhut sculptures are always covered with beautiful veils (Pl. I, fig. 4, Pl. IV, fig. 11). The head coverings of Yakṣiṇī Candā (Pl. IV, fig. 11) and Devatā Cūlakokā⁵ are very fine. The veil of Devatā Cūlakokā simply falls down the back, but Candā's veil is more elaborate. At places women are also represented wearing *dupaṭṭās*.⁶ Though the turban is specially used by men, women were not excluded from its use.⁷

The great Buddhist *stūpa* at Sānchī, the carved reliefs in Karḷā Caves, and paintings in the Caves Nos. IX and X give a fairly good picture of Indian costume in the first century B.C.

The main article in the costume of the male figures is *dhotī*, which reaches down the knees, one end of which is tucked at the back and the other gathered in folds, and tucked in front (Pl. IV, fig. 12). Or rarely one end is tied round the waist and the other end is taken over the left elbow and let fall down (Pl. IV, fig. 13). The *dhotī* is secured to the waist with a *kamarband* with bow-shaped knot. The loin-cloth is represented a little bit shorter at Karḷā, and the *kamarband* consists of a twisted scarf tied at the side.⁸ The upper part of the body is usually represented bare except for the scarf which is worn in the following ways : (1) It is made to fall down from the shoulders and passed under armpits (Pl. IV, fig. 12).⁹ (2) The scarf is put round the back, its ends being passed through the armpits and thrown at the back.¹⁰ (3) The scarf is passed across the body and thrown over the left shoulder.¹¹ *Dupaṭṭā* is however worn by a comparatively fewer number of persons than at Bharhut. All the male figures wear a turban. It seems that the long

1. Barua, *ibid.*, II. Pl. LXIV, 74.

2. Barua, *ibid.*, LXV, fig. 78 ; LXIV, fig. 74.

3. *Ibid.*, LXIII, 72.

4. Barua, *ibid.*, LXIII, 73.

5. Barua, *ibid.*, LXIII, 73 ; LXIV, 75.

6. Barua, *ibid.*, LXIII, 72.

7. Barua, *ibid.*, XXXIX, *34.

8. Burgess, *Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples*, Pl. XIII.

9. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. XXV, 2.

10. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVII, fig. 1.

11. *Ibid.*

turban scarf was twisted with hair braids to obtain many beautiful forms. The commonest variety is wound in Bharhut fashion—the hair is gathered in top-knot; one end of the scarf is made to cover it, and then three or four more rounds and the turban was ready (Pl. IV, fig. 14).

The variation of the same form may be seen in figures 15, 16, 17, and 18. Pls. IV, V, the forms being obtained by arranging the top-knot either pear-shaped or elliptical. In another variety some part of the scarf seems to have been rolled and kept in straight line with the top-knot; then several rounds were wound, and finally the end was passed through the folds, taken over the rolled part and tucked to other side (Pl. V, fig. 19). The variations of the same form may be seen in fig. 20, Pl. V when the rolled part is arranged in oblique fashion or placed breadthwise (Pl. V, fig. 21).

There is another class of turban which may be termed as 'conch-shell' type because the projecting part is arranged in the shape of a conch-shell (Pl. V, figs. 22, 23 and Pl. VI, fig. 24). In one turban the top-knot is spiral-shaped (Pl. VI, fig. 25). At another place the knot is shaped like a spinning ball (Pl. VI, fig. 26); in another place the top-knot is not round but loose and long and the folds of the turban are also loose (Pl. VI, fig. 27). In the figure 28, Pl. VI, the knot is fan-shaped. In fig. 29, Pl. VI, the head seems to be covered with a scarf; in fig. 30, Pl. VI the head is partly covered. The caps may also be seen; the conical cap (Pl. VI, fig. 31)¹ is represented in the scene depicting *stūpa* worship by foreigners (Pl. VI, fig. 32); then there is a close-fitting skull cap with a knob at the forehead (Pl. VII, fig. 33); then there is a cap cut at the forehead and surmounted with a girdle with a bow in the centre and a knob (Pl. VII, fig. 34); and then a trapezium-shaped cap with a knob at the top (Pl. VII, fig. 35); and then a conical cap with fleur-de-lis decoration at the sides and the centre (Pl. VII, fig. 36).

At Ajanṭā, Cave, X (Pl. VII, fig. 37), however, the turbans are not so elaborate. The hair is tied in a knot at the top of the head and then a narrow scarf with forked ends is tied round the head. This turban resembles very much the *aṭṭaḷi pagṛi* of the late 16th. and 17th. centuries.² The charioteer seen at Sānchī³ is represented with a helmet or cap with a plume (Pl. VIII, fig. 38). Some of the foreigners tie their foreheads with ribbons (Pl. VIII, fig. 39).

The women are represented wearing two types of lower garment. One is what we may call *lāgoḷi* in which one end of a narrow scarf is attached to the waist-girdle⁴ and the other tucked behind (Pl. VIII, fig. 40). In the second variety one end of the loin-cloth reaching to the knees is wrapped round the waist and the other end is pleated and tucked in front and is passed through the loins and tucked behind (Pl. VIII, figs. 41, 42). At another place

1. Fergusson, *Ibid.*, XXVIII, fig. 1.

2. Stella Kramrisch, *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, Pl. I.

3. Fergusson, *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXIII.

4. Fergusson, *Ibid.*, XXV, fig. 2.

the loin-cloth is wrapped round the waist and the pleated end tucked at the side (Pl. IX, fig. 43). Sometimes the *kamarband* was also worn.

The heads of women were generally covered with *oṛhnīs* decorated with beautiful borders. It was simply a piece of cloth covering the head and falling down the back (Pl. IX, figs. 44, 45, 46). This *oṛhnī* was at times secured to the head with girdles (Pl. X, figs. 47, 48, 49). The top part of the *oṛhnī* is sometimes arranged in the shape of a fan (Pl. X, figs. 50, 51), or surmounted with a fan-shaped ornament (Pl. X, fig. 52). Turbans are also sometimes worn by the women (Pl. XI figs. 53, 54). They also sometimes wore skull caps (Pl. XI, fig. 55). At one place it is decorated with a fringe of pendants (Pl. XI, fig. 56). In a procession scene a woman following the king on horse-back¹ wears a helmet (Pl. XI, fig. 57). Is she a Yavanī who served as a bodyguard to the kings in ancient times?

The Brahmanical Sādhus are depicted wearing a kilt, not a cloth wrapped round the loins, but as far as can be judged from the sculptures it was tailor-made and fastened to the waist with a string (Pl. XI, fig. 58). They also wear a tippet or cloak which covers the left shoulder and chest leaving the right breast open. The plaited hair is arranged in the form of a spiral at the top of the head²; the women (Pl. XII, fig. 59) also wear what appears to be like drawers reaching to the knees and the same sort of tippet or cloak as men, the only difference being that whereas the man's cloak covers only the shoulder the woman's also covers the part of the arm a little above the elbow.³

Some very interesting information could be gleaned from the sculptures of Sānchī about the sewn garment. It is interesting to note that it is worn by a charioteer,⁴ soldiers,⁵ king's bodyguard or standard-bearer,⁶ and the foreigners worshipping the *stūpa*. The soldiers may be divided into two classes: the archers and footsoldiers. The former (Pl. XII, fig. 60) wear a full-sleeved tunic, the sleeves being rolled to the elbows⁷ when shooting the arrows (Pl. XII, fig. 61), the kilt fastened securely round the waist, manifolded *kamarband*, cross straps to carry their quiver and a turban. The foot-soldiers wear the same sort of garment except the cross-strap. In some places,⁸ however, they are represented wearing a sort of short drawers which is held round the waist with a string, and also from that string below the navel is hung a decorative piece of cloth (*paṭkā*) (Pl. XII, fig. 62). In one of the scenes at Ajanṭā (Cave X, Pl. VII, fig. 37) depicting an incident from the Śaḍdanta Jātaka Sonuttara the hunter and his companion are represented

1. Fergusson, *Ibid.*, XXXIV.

2. Fergusson, *Ibid.*, XXIV, 1; XXXI, 2; XXXII, 1-2.

3. Fergusson, *Ibid.*, XXXII.

4. *Ibid.*, XXXIII.

5. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVI, 1-2; XXXVIII, 1.

6. *Ibid.*, XL.

7. *Ibid.*, XXXVI.

8. *Ibid.*, XXXVI.



FIG. 63

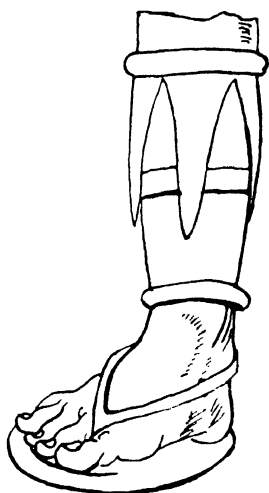


FIG. 64

wearing tunics. One man, probably the hunter bearing a *bāhgi* on his shoulders, wears a quarter-sleeved striped tunic with V-shaped opening in front reaching to the knees. The other man also wears a patterned tunic, quarter-sleeved and reaching to the knees, with round collar and open front with buttons.¹

The garment of the foreigners (Pl. XIII, fig. 63) worshipping the *stūpa*² requires attention. They wear a full-sleeved tunic, a kilt, a *kamarband*, a scarf streaming at the back and tied in a knot at the neck and full boots. As regards their headdresses some wear fillet round the forehead tied at the back; two of them wear conical caps and the others go bare-headed.

• The shoes are represented only once in the Sāncī sculptures, and there the foreigners are represented wearing them (Pl. XIII, fig. 64). It should not be, however, concluded from this that the Indians did not wear shoes. On the contrary there are literary evidences that the shoes of various forms and materials were commonly used. Their absence from the sculptures both at Bharhut and Sāncī can be easily explained if we bear in mind that the use of shoes at the time of worship must have been prohibited in ancient days as today, and because the figures represented are engaged in worship or act as characters in sacred stories they have been purposely represented without shoes.

* * * * *

SUMMARY

The excavations at Mohenjo-daro have revealed some details about Indian costume and the materials from which cloths were manufactured. An actual piece of cotton cloth has been discovered which shows that cotton was known to the people of Sindh four thousand five hundred years back. It is also possible that wool was used for warmer textiles.

Our knowledge of the costume of Mohenjo-daro people is scanty as naked figures preponderate. A shawl is worn by a male figure covering the left shoulder and passed under the right arm. It is difficult to say what was worn under the shawl, but the heroes and deities wear a thin strip of cotton on their loins. Some very rare figurines are depicted wearing kilt or drawers. The hair was tied with a woven fillet.

The woven *sāri* terminating well above the knees always fastened with girdles and in one case with a *kamarband* is also seen. The narrow strip of cloth used as *sāri* at Mohenjodaro very much resembles the *nivi* mentioned in the Vedic literature.

Fan-shaped head-dresses were worn by men and women which had sometimes pannier-like projections. A band round the head helped to support them; cap is also worn by a few figurines. •

The costumes and materials in Vedic period are known by casual re-

1. Karmrisc, *loc. cit.*, Pl. I.

2. Fergusson, *loc. cit.*, XXVIII.

ferences with which it is difficult to give a history of Indian costume with any degree of accuracy. We know that the cotton was not known to the Vedic people ; its earliest reference is to be found in Āpastamba Śrauta-Sūtra (VI 4, 17). Wool, however, was an important material for manufacturing cloth. Fine wool was at hand obtained from the ewes of Gandhāra and the regions through which Indus and Paruṣṇi (Ravi) flowed. From the wool obtained from these countries were manufactured blankets (*kambala*), dhussa (*dūrśa*), and perhaps *pāṇḍva*.

The skins of the animals were worn by the Gods and Munis, Vrātyas and aboriginal tribes. Goat and antelope skins were preferred. *Kṣauma*, most probably linen, *barāṣī* or cloth manufactured from the bark of *baras* tree and *tārpya*, about the material of which there is some uncertainty, some taking it as silk while others as linen, were also known.

The work of weaving was entrusted to women-folk, and several technical terms such as *otu* 'woof,' *tantu*, 'yarn' *tantra* 'warp or loom' etc., are also met with in connection with weaving.

The most usual word for clothing is *vāsas*, though *vasana* and *vastra* express the same idea. Vedic Indians were also fond of beautiful garments. Clothing well (*suvāsas*) is a common adjective. The clothes were also well-fitting (*surabhi*). Clothes were often decorated with borders or embroidered with patterns in gold. White cloth was preferred, while some women used dyed cloth ; the Vrātyas had preference for dark blue cloth.

The Vedic Indians wore three garments *nīvi* or loin-cloth sometimes having long and unwoven fringe, a garment (*vāsas*) and an overgarment (*upavasana*, *adhivāsa*) generally consisting of a wrapper or sometimes consisting of a jacket, bodice or cloak like *pratidhi*, *drāpi* or *atka*. *Peśas* was worn by dancing girls and was the forefather of modern *peshwāz*. The *uṣṇīsa* or turban is met in later Vedic literature and was worn by the Rājās and Vrātyas and also sometimes by women. Shoes are not mentioned in the early Vedic literature though the foot-fasteners and foot-guards used in battlefields are mentioned in the Rgveda. The *upānah* or shoes are first mentioned in the Yajurveda and were worn at the ritual. They were manufactured from boar or antelope skins.

In the next period which may tentatively cover the period between 642-413 B.C., material for Indian clothing is to be found in the Sūtra literature, Jātaka stories and Vinaya Piṭaka. In this period the professions of embroiderer (*pesakārasippa*) and weaver (*tantavāya*) are considered low, which must have been due to these professions being taken up by the non-Aryans, as in the Vedic age no such stigma was attached to these professions.

Cotton was greatly cultivated in this age and we are told about cotton fields near Benares. Fine thread (*sukhumasutta*) rolled in balls (*gulam*) were in demand, and bow for carding is also mentioned. Benares, during the life of Buddha, seems to have been the chief centre for the manufacture of cotton cloth, and it is said that the mortal remains of a world ruler were covered with it. The

texture of cloth produced at Benares was fine, and this fineness and smoothness were obtained by skilled weavers and spinners and the bleaching was perfect due to the softness of the water. Benares was also famous for its silk manufacture and upto this day it is one of the leading silk manufacturing centres in India.

Linen was common, though we do not know where it was manufactured. Blankets were also produced from a mixture of *kṣuma* fibre and wool. *Koṭumbara* was another variety of cloth though we do not know the nature of the material from which it was made; it was manufactured in the country of the Audumbaras which was on the upper Beas in the Gurdāspur and Hoshiārpur districts, with its centre at Pāthānkoṭ.

For woollen cloths of all varieties the term *kambala* is used in Buddhist literature. The Gandhāra country produced fine shawls; the country of Sibi was equally famous for it, and Vāhika (the country between the Sindh, Satlaj and Beas) produced fine woollen *chādars* known as *Vāhitika*.

Beside the above-mentioned varieties, cloths were manufactured from hemp, *bhāga*, *kuṣa* grass, bark, wood, human hair, feathers, etc. Skins of lions, tiger, leopard, cow and deer, etc. were used for bedding and clothes. In the Madhyadeśa the skins of various species of cats, etc. and in the Dakṣiṇāpatha the skins of rams, goats, etc. were used for clothing. The patterned and dyed garment with beautiful borders were common.

The clothing of the *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs* was the same. It consisted of three pieces, *sanghāṭī* or double *chādar*, *antarvāsaka* or loin-cloth and *uttarāsaṅga* or *dupaṭṭā*. The *bhikkhunīs* were allowed the use of bodices also.

The clothing of laymen differed little. It consisted of *dhotī* and *uttarāsaṅga* and turban, and also sometimes tunic. The *dhotī* was pleated in various styles, such as 'fan style,' 'elephant trunk' style, 'four-cornered' style, etc. The *kamarband* was tied in various knots, such as 'drum knot,' 'water serpent knot,' etc. Beside the *kamarband* men and women used a *paṭkā* or a decorative piece of cloth attached from the *kamarband* and hanging in front made from bamboo, wool, etc.

The shoes and sandals were dyed in different colours. Grecian sandals and full boots are referred to as well as many other varieties of shoes made from feathers and skins of various birds and animals. Wooden sandals inlaid with precious stones were also known.

The history of Indian costume in the Maurya, Śunga and early Āndhra period can be traced from the sculptures, terracottas, and partly from literature.

We know on the basis of Kauṭilya that there was a separate weaving department of state under a superintendent where thread, cloths, coats and ropes were manufactured. The materials employed for the manufacture of cloth were cotton, silk, wool, hemp, fibre, etc. Cotton was grown, and the skins, furs and beautiful woollen cloths were imported from Kamboja, Cīna and Vāhlika.

The dress was simple *dhotī* or loin-cloth fastened to the waist with

kamarband generally tied in bow-shaped knot with a *paṭkā* at times hanging in between the legs, and *dupaṭṭā* or turban. It is remarkable that *dhoti* in later Maurya and Śunga periods is very beautifully pleated, and the *paṭkās* are decorated with beautiful patterns, tassels, etc. The women also wear *sāris* with *kamarbands* and *paṭkās*, and elaborate veils. In fact the few Maurya sculptures and bas-reliefs of Bharhut depict a fashionable society where even simple garments were worn in such a way as to attract attention.

In the Āndhra sculptures, however, we find that though the men and women are dressed in the same garments the elaborate pleats and *paṭkās* have disappeared, and even the *dupaṭṭās* are discarded at places. Āndhras were just on the move to carve an empire for themselves, and they could ill afford to waste their time in the niceties of fashion, while more important work awaited them, just to satisfy their vanity.

The Āndhras also seem to have understood the importance of a uniform for soldiers, as fighting in *dhoti* and long flowing *dupaṭṭās* must have hindered action. In this period we find soldiers dressed in tunics and kilts and turbans. This gives them the appearance of Scotch Highlanders, and Highlanders certainly they were of the Mahārāṣṭra.

THE ACHAEMENIANS*

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[FOREWORD :

The Achaemenian Kings of Irān prided themselves on their Āryan heritage. Their ideals and their views of life were not essentially different from those of their brothers in Hind. Modern India, feeling the new life in her veins, should know what the Aryans of Irān achieved. Irān today is also rejuvenating and feeling a new life. With these ancient ideals of life and government revived and adapted to modern conditions much may be achieved today. Hence the need of reviving the glorious memories of our common Āryan heritage.]

* * * *

The history of Irān, of Āryan Irān, begins with the rise of the Median Empire, while the history of Zoroastrian Irān might definitely be said to begin with the Achaemenian dynasty. There is some doubt about the religion of the Medes, but there is none about the religion of the Achaemenians. They certainly were worshippers of Ahura-Mazda and followers of Zarathushtra. But there is one important proviso to be added to this, viz., that the Zoroastrianism of these great Rulers was different from that followed by the later Sāsānians. The essential tenets and fundamentals of Achaemenian religion were undoubtedly those taught by Zarathushtra, but the outer observances were very different from those laid down during the Sāsānian period.

And this leads to another important point. The great National Epic of Irān, the *Shāhnāmeḥ*, does not mention, even in passing, the name of this great dynasty. The last Achaemenian King of Kings, who was defeated by Alexander is indeed mentioned by Firdausī, but his immediate predecessors are put down in hopeless confusion ; while the three greatest of the Achaemenians—Kurush, Darius and Xerxes¹ are not mentioned at all. We know that Irān attained the zenith of her political and material prosperity in the days of the first two named above. They won and ruled over the largest empire the ancient world had ever known. Their system of government was the finest in that age, indeed, embodied some of the best principles of modern government. And yet the National Epic omits them completely.

The only reason seems to be that Firdausī, writing nearly fifteen centuries after these events, had nothing to guide him about this period other

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1. Xerxes was identified by some earlier scholars with Bahaman Isfandyar of the *Shāhnāmeḥ*. His son and successor Artaxerxes Makrokheir (Longimanus) is mentioned as *Ardashīr Darūzdast*.

than the Pahlavī chronicle, the *Xʷatāe-nāmā* (the History of the Rulers). This latter was compiled in the days of the Sāsānians, and the priests who compiled it had special reasons for upholding the orthodox Zoroastrianism of Sāsānian times. And so they gave the history of those mythical Kings of Irān who were mentioned in the holy texts and those who could be called "orthodox" from their own point of view. By no standard of Sāsānian days could any of the earlier Achaemenians be called "orthodox." Hence probably their omission, in the Pahlavī chronicle, which was merely copied later on by Firdausī.

The last ruler of the Achaemenians, Darius III, is put by Firdausī as the last member of the Kayānī dynasty. He is the ninth sovereign of that dynasty and tenth in descent from the founder Kay-Qobād. The second of this dynasty was Kay-Kāus, the *Kava-Ush* of the Avesta and *Kavi Uṣanas* of the Vedas. There is hardly any doubt that Firdausī (or the original *Xʷatāe-nāmā*) has got badly confused in the chronology and has mixed up two widely separated dynasties.² The Achaemenians have left us a wealth of inscriptions written in the cuneiform script and in most cases trilingual. During the last decade a very large number of fresh inscriptions have been unearthed at Persepolis, Susa and elsewhere. From these one can re-construct their history to a certain extent,³ and for the rest we have to rely on Greek, Babylonian, Egyptian, Jewish and other sources. The first named, however, is to be used with caution, because the Greeks would naturally be led away by their patriotic fervour.

We need not attempt to go into the details of each of the rulers of this great family, but we might look at the period of their sovereignty as a whole. Of the founder of the family, Hakhāmanish⁴ we hardly know anything beyond the name and that he was the ruler of what had been Elam at the dawn of history. His son divided this kingdom into two parts, giving Anashan (with the capital Susa) to the elder and the Pārs to the younger. From the first was descended, fourth from Hakhāmanish, Kurush the Great,⁵ the conqueror of Media and of Babylon. From the younger branch was descended, fifth from the founder, Darius the Great.⁶

2. Incidentally, this chronology has been responsible for the traditional date of Zarathushtra, which supposes him to have lived somewhere about the 6th or 7th century B.C. He is put down as having converted Kay-Vistāspa from whom Dara-e-Darab was fourth in descent. This date was definitely rejected by Jackson, who puts down the Prophet about 1000 B.C. Recently this traditional date of Firdausī is sought to be re-established by Hertel in Europe and by some scholars in India.

3. A record from these has been compiled and published by A. W. Ahl under the title *Outline of Persian History based on Cuneiform Inscriptions* (1922).

4. The name seems to mean "the friend of mankind."

5. I prefer the original Old Iranian form of the name to the latinised *Cyrus* and its utterly misleading English pronunciation. The name in Old Irānī means "the sun."

6. This relationship is recorded by Darius himself in the Behistun Inscription, col. I, paras ii-iv.

'Kurush was at first "King of Aushan" only, but later on he takes on the title of "King of Pārs" also. This was probably after the defeat of the Media in B.C. 550.⁷ Very soon he proved himself to be a great conqueror and a still greater organiser and ruler. And yet, in spite of all the greatness he achieved, he remained modest and unassuming. The famous monolith statue of his at Pasargadae has only the simple inscription "I am Kurush, the King, the Achæmenian."⁸

If a ruler deserved fully the title of "the Great," it was Kurush. Great as a soldier and conqueror, he was greater in his organisation and greatest of all in his merciful and just treatment of the peoples he had conquered. He was one of the most attractive figures in history. "His manly beauty, his soldier-like qualities of bravery and activity, were apparently conspicuous throughout his life and he never lost his vitality through luxury and self-indulgence. . . . His ideals were high, as he laid down that no man was fit to rule unless by his own qualities he was greater than all his subjects. . . His humanity was equalled by his freedom from pride, which induced him to meet people on a level instead of effecting a remoteness and aloofness which characterised the great monarchs who preceded and followed him. . . His countrymen loved him and termed him 'father'; and we too, may feel proud that the first great Aryan, whose character is known to history, should have displayed much splendid qualities."⁹

It is, indeed, remarkable that Kurush was succeeded after a short interval of seven years by another equally great, and about whom we know far more through his own inscriptions. Darius was fully worthy to be a successor of Kurush and Irān was surely blessed in having produced two of the greatest rulers of ancient times. The mainspring of Darius in all his work was his intense love for his people and his race. He says with legitimate pride that he is *Pārsa Parsahyā puthra, Airya Airya-cithra* (a Parsi, son of a Parsi, an Aryan of Aryan lineage). To him these words—*Pārsa* and *Airya*—summed up the highest ideals in life and his whole career was inspired by the intense desire not to do any act which might tarnish these noble names. His inscriptions are models of lucid and direct statement and they show the inmost thoughts, not so much of Darius the King of Kings but of Darius the *Man*. All his achievements he puts down in due order without exaggeration or embellishment. Everywhere he says that he did such things "*vasnā Auramazdāha*" (by the grace of Ahura-Mazda), or that he added such lands to his realm because God gave them to him. This humility and perfect submission to the Supreme is as rare as it is refreshing and it is in perfect accord with the highest ideals of Aryan religion so well embodied in the Avasta—*Ahurāi Mazdāi vīspā*

7. Sykes, *History of Persia*,² Vol. I, p. 143.

• 8. Browne in his *Literary History of Persia* (Vol. I, p. 93) comments upon this modest dignity and contrasts it with "the empty, high-sounding bombast" of the petty chiefs of later Irān.

9. Sykes, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 ff.

vohū cinhamī (I attribute all good things to Ahura-Mazda¹⁰). In Darius we see clearly a man who believed himself to be an instrument of Divine Will and who strove to be worthy of his destiny. His modesty clings to him to the very end. One of the finest of all the cuneiform inscriptions is that at Naksh-i-Rustam (at the back of the great platform at Persepolis) over the last resting place of this Great King. The end of it runs thus :

"This is what was done¹¹; all this by the grace of Ahura-Mazda I did ; Ahura-Mazda bore me aid while I was doing my deeds ; let Ahura-Mazda protect me from evil and my royal house and this country ; this I pray of Ahura-Mazda ; this let Ahura-Mazda give me.

"O man, what is the precept of Ahura-Mazda, may it not seem to thee repugnant : do not leave the path of truth ; do not sin."¹²

The empire of Darius was the greatest in the ancient world and it may claim to be one of the greatest *continuous* empires in history, as there was no intrusion anywhere of foreign territory to break up its continuity. It was in the organisation and administration of this huge area that Darius showed his true genius. When he had suppressed the nine great rebellions against him, he was merciful to the vanquished. He punished heavily the leaders who had "lied" and had thus led the people astray, but freely pardoned their deluded victims.

His empire was divided into Satrapies (twenty in number¹³) in each of which there were three chief officers—the Satrap,¹⁴ the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary. They were responsible *directly to the Great King* himself and were entirely independent of each other. The satrap managed the revenue collection and the payment of the annual tribute to the King of Kings. He also dispensed justice and maintained law and order. The annual tribute was fixed partly in cash and partly in kind. The laws in each satrapy were the laws of the people of the land, modified as found expedient. The Commander-in-Chief looked after all military matters. He had to keep peace within the satrapy and had to furnish the quota of men and material when the Great King demanded. The Secretary's duty was to see that both these great officials did their work efficiently and without oppression. He had to send periodical reports to the capital detailing any irregularities. These three officials were absolutely independent of each other and none had the right to interfere with the work of the other two. This system continued in the Iranian Empire till the end of the Achaemenian rule ; and under really great rulers like Darius I. it worked perfectly, because the sovereign made it his duty to travel constantly through the whole of his vast domains and personally saw to the removal of all grievances. The three chief officers in each satrapy were trusted and tried officers of the Great King

10. Yasna xii. 9.

11. The conquests and achievements of Darius recounted in the earlier part of the inscription are meant.

12. Tolman's translation with slight changes.

13. According to Herodotus.

14. *Xshathrapa* (Skt. क्षत्रप).

and very often they were his sons or brothers.¹⁵ Usually the Crown Prince served his apprenticeship and got his first lessons in statecraft as Satrap of one of the important provinces.

The revenue derived by Darius personally from this great empire was enormous. Herodotus has estimated it as 14560 talents (in modern currency £ 2,821,100 sterling) per year,¹⁶ "omitting many trifling sums not deserving mention."¹⁷ Out of this vast income the Great King maintained his court and army and the whole of the central government.

• Trade and commerce were the special care of these rulers. Darius built roads right across his vast empire, which conveyed merchants to every part. All along these, at short intervals, there were well-appointed rest-houses providing food and shelter and relays of horses. These roads were guarded by troops for the safety of travellers. Darius also instituted a postal service (probably the first in the world's history) by which dispatches and letters were carried day and night by mounted couriers. This greatly increased the trade and made intercourse between the various nations of the empire easier, and so of benefit to all.

Another great work of Darius was the building of a canal across the isthmus of Suez. He has recorded it in an inscription that "ships passed from Egypt by this canal to Persia."¹⁸

Darius also gave to the ancient world of commerce a stable and reliable coinage. His *daric* was a coin of definite value and of definite metallic quality which never varied. In the ancient world it was accepted everywhere at its full value and this contributed in a very large measure to the stability and expansion of commerce throughout the empire.

All this splendid organisation brought peace and prosperity to the ancient world such as had never been known before. The Government was indeed autocratic, but the supreme head for a long time was a benevolent and wise autocrat. Instead of civil strife Irān gave her subjects stable rule, broad based on justice and equity. The true greatness of Darius is to be seen in his treatment of the subject races. Darius always recognised the native institutions and greatly respected the national traditions and feelings of subject peoples. This was the result of faithfully observing the fundamental principles of his religion—Righteousness and Truth. When needed he punished swiftly and terribly, but he was always just and inclined to mercy. This

15. Kambujya (Cambyzes) was Satrap of Babylon under Kurush, and Xerxes had also served as Satrap in various important lands under his father. A more remarkable case was that of Vistāspa (Hystaspes) who was Satrap of Bactria under his own son the Great Darius.

16. Ten talents were equivalent to £ 1937-10 according to Lamprière.

17. Herodotus, III, 89-95.

18. Irān, owing to her very short sea-coast, was never a maritime power. But in the days of the vast empires, like that of the Achaemenians (and to a lesser extent that of the Sāsānians), she did possess a navy manned by many of the subject races.

tradition of truth and justice had been so firmly established in Iranian life and government, that long after Darius had passed away, the Greek states put their disputes before the Great King, perfectly confident of getting justice at his hands. No greater compliment has ever been paid by a nation to another, whom they regarded as their enemies.

Another tradition, established by Kurush, and carried out faithfully by Darius, and continued practically throughout the Achæmenian period, was that of tolerance for other faiths. This was not the tolerance of supercilious superiority, but a full recognition of the value of other faiths. Both Kurush and Darius were conspicuous for their active sympathies on behalf of the religions of Babylon and of Egypt. Kurush is remembered with affectionate gratitude by the Jews, because he freed them from their "Babylonian captivity." And it was Artaxerxes I, the grandson of Darius, who gave to the Jews every facility to rebuild their Temple at Jerusalem and to re-impose their Sacred Law on their people. The great Teachers of Judaism, Ezra and Nehemiah, were trusted ministers of Artaxerxes I.

Nor were the Jews the only people to be specially picked out for this treatment. Every nation subject to Irān throughout that period was treated in exactly the same brotherly fashion. The Achæmenians "treated well all their subject peoples . . . a settled policy of consideration for other people and races existed and found expression whenever circumstances would permit. If nations rebelled, the strong arm was ready to reduce them . . . but many must have been the examples of the contrary method, when there was no question of force but only of the ordinary functions of government, and the ways of peace."¹⁹ We may, indeed, say that the *Pax Iranica* was a very real thing in those days and was greatly prized by all nations who lived under it.

In arts and architecture the work of Achæmenians' days is the very best Irān has produced.²⁰ The grand monuments of Persepolis, Susa and Hamadan (Ecbatana) are among the most wonderful remains of antiquity. Among the recent inscriptions of Darius discovered at Susa is a long and important *Record of the Building of the Palace*²¹ which "for importance of content and for length yields only to the Great Inscription of Behistun." It describes the sumptuous conception of the decoration of the palace and gives a very clear idea of the resources of the empire which made it possible to carry out this plan. Precious woods and fine stones and ivory and gold and silver and other materials were brought from every part of the vast dominions and special craftsmen came from distant parts to add grace and beauty to the

19. R. W. Rogers, *A History of Ancient Persia*, p. 189.

20. They borrowed largely from Assyrian and Babylon models, but they improved on them also.

21. Edited by the V. Schiel (Paris 1929). A fine account of this and other recently discovered inscriptions is given by R. G. Kent in the *JAOS.*, (Vol. 51, pp. 189-240).

design. In short the palace seems to have been in a way symbolic of the great imperial unity of the Achæmenian domains.

But even when describing his far-flung possessions and his wonderful achievements in war and peace Darius uses plain straightforward language and ascribes all his work to the favour and the grace of God. Every single task he accomplished was by the help and guidance of Ahura-Mazda ; and he always ends up by praying for the protection of the Supreme for himself, his house, and his country.

* This straightforward and honest devotion to Almighty Ahura-Mazda was the main inspiration of the Achæmenians when they rose to power. Devotion to the Great Lord (*Baga Vazarka*) and holding aloft the great ideals of their race—their *kuladharmā*—had been the driving force in the case of both Kurush and Darius. They were both keen on guarding the interests of their empire and at the same time promoting the welfare of their subjects. By holding true the balance between these two objects they upheld justice and achieved success. Darius says : “ For this reason Ahura-Mazda brought me aid . . . because I was not inimical nor violent, neither I nor my family. According to rectitude I ruled. Nor against the slave nor the lowly did I exercise oppression.”²² This essentially religious outlook upon his own duty, this recognition of his being an instrument to be used by Ahura-Mazda for the good of his people—this was the secret of the strength and greatness of the first Achæmenians.²³

There is no doubt whatever now that Darius “ was a Zoroastrian and in almost scriptural terms bears witness to the fact.”²⁴ The *Drauga* (the *druj* of the Gāthās) was the thing to be avoided by all worshippers of Ahura-Mazda. *Drauga* is “ untruth,” *asat*. *Drauga* was the source of all rebellions which rose against Darius.²⁵ In the Behistun Inscription Darius is really emphatic against untruth and deceit of any sort. There, towards the end (IV. 5) he leaves a solemn admonition to his successors : “ O thou who shalt be king in the future, protect thyself strongly against Deceit ; whatever man shall be deceiver, him well-punished, do thou punish.” This utter detestation of “ untruth ” has been testified to by Herodotus in his famous passage (I, 136, 138) : “ From their fifth to their twentieth year they (the Persians) instruct their children in the three things only : the art of the bow, horsemanship, and a strict regard for the truth. . . They hold falsehood in the greatest abhorrence.”

22. Behistun Inscription, IV, 13.

23. Kambujya, the son and successor of Kurush, was, however, a man of violent passions. Fortunately for the rising empire only seven years out of the first seventy-three belonged to his reign. The remaining sixty-six belonged to the reigns of Kurush (559-529 B.C.) and Darius (521-486 B.C.).

24. H. C. Tolman in *AJP.*, Vol. 31.

25. He uses a very expressive phrase to describe the state of the country at that time : *Drauga dahyauvā vasiy abava* (the Druj dominated the land) (Beh. I. 10).

The pride of Darius in being "an Aryan of Aryan lineage" is based on this upholding of the highest teaching of the Aryans—*satyān nāsti paro dharmah*.

With such high ideals before them it is no wonder that the first Achæmenians were mightily successful, not merely as conquerors but as real great kings. Their subjects were happy and attached to them. The kings never spared themselves in working for the good of their people. In spite of the great variety of races and creeds over which they held sway these great Rulers were never bigoted nor intolerant. They encouraged their subject races to live their individual lives and to bring their own contribution for enriching the whole empire. Every race and country under Darius felt that he was "a statesman, warrior, economist, scientist, educator, the benefactor of his people and the ardent protector of their religion."²⁶ The Egyptians have given him a very honoured position among their national rulers. Herodotus speaks of the very notable progress in education and the spiritual uplift among the peoples over whom he ruled.²⁷ He had a very fine understanding of the arts and sciences of the Babylonians and he collected very fine libraries at Hamadan and Susa and Persepolis. It was indeed fortunate that the Founder of the great Achæmenian dynasty was loved as the "father" of his people and that the work begun by him was carried forward by the great Darius, one of the greatest figures in ancient history, "truth-loving, kindly inclined, sympathetic, a strong and imposing personality."²⁸

The influences of Achæmenian Irān spread far and wide throughout the world. The extreme limits of the empire are given in the Hamadan gold plate²⁹ where Darius gives the four corners of his Empire—"from the Scythians who are beyond Sogdiana, from there to Ethiopia; from India, from there to Sardis." We know that both Kurush and Darius were held in great veneration by the people of Egypt. The latter was of real help to that land by giving them peace and strong government. He was more venerated for his tolerance and for the help he gave in restoring many temples, and the Egyptians included him in their history among the great Pharaohs. There was one uprising in the days of Xerxes, but on the whole Egypt was quiet almost to the end of the dynasty. There was undoubted exchange of ideas and mutual influence in religious thought between these two lands. The resemblances are too striking to be explained as mere coincidences.³⁰ Similar mutual influences might be traced in the Babylonian religion as well.³¹ In

26. Ahl, op. cit., p. 79.

27. I. 136 ff.

28. Ahl, op. cit., p. 82.

29. Unwala in the *J. Cama Or. Inst.*, No. 10 (1927). Also Herzfeld in *Memoirs of the Arch. Sur. of India*, No. 34 (1928). The translation given here is that of R. G. Kent (*JAOS.*, 51, p. 230).

30. See Taraporewala, "Some Aspects of the History of Zoroastrianism" in the *J. Cama Or. Inst.*, No. 11 (1928), pp. 29-36.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-29.

Judaea the work of Irān has been deep and lasting. To Kurush the Jews have owed their redemption from the "Babylonian captivity" and they have ever since remembered him with affection and gratitude. Artaxerxes I. continued this wise policy with Ezra and Nehemiah. In fact the code of Jewish Law embodied in the Pentateuch was prepared and drawn up at Babylon, and here again the resemblances with Zoroastrian ideas are too striking to be accidental. To India the Achæmenian conquest brought the Kharoṣṭhī script, which was an adaptation of the common script of Babylon at that period.

• The most important gift of later Achæmenian Irān to the world was the Religion of Mithra. It was an off-shoot of Zoroastrianism giving to Mithra a position equal to Ahura-Mazda. Mithra and Ahura were originally the Aryan "twin-deities" *Mitrā-Varuṇā*. Mithra worship was in reality the worship of the Sun as the Ruler of the Moral and Ethical world. Its high ethical teaching and its rigid discipline were found very attractive by the Greeks and appealed very strongly later on to the Romans. Mithraism was a world force in the first century after Christ and for a considerable time it was doubtful which of the two—Mithra or Christ—would emerge victorious as the Redeemer of the Roman Empire.

A few words might be said about Greece and Irān. The Persian Wars waged with Xerxes were very much exaggerated by Greek writers. This was but natural, because undoubtedly their victories at Salamis and Plataea were most remarkable. These two battles certainly had a most bracing effect on the morale of the Greeks—especially of the Athenians. To Irān, however, they were not the shattering blows the Greek writers would have us believe. They were defeats, indeed, and lowered the prestige of Irān for a while. Irān realised clearly that it was useless to think of conquering Greece unless there was a strong navy. And the geographical position of Irān had effectively shut out all possibility in that direction.³² But in spite of this elation of the Greek States they were always ready to ask for the help of their Iranian neighbour against their enemies. What is even more remarkable, the Greek States often requested the Great King to arbitrate, when disputes arose between themselves, for they were always certain of getting justice and fair dealing from the Iranian. This is the highest compliment one nation can pay to an enemy.

After the death of Artaxerxes I. (424 B.C.) the downfall of the Achæmenians may be said to have begun. Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon) stayed the downward sliding for a time, for he was a man of clear ability and considerable goodness. But the degeneration had set in. The reasons were many and various, but three chief causes might be enumerated; all the others flowed from these three. These were: (i) the progressive degeneracy in the royal family itself, (ii) the growing wealth and power of the governing classes and • (iii) the growing laxity in religion. These might be considered separately.

32. In the days of the greater rulers there did exist an Iranian navy, but this was never a regular institution. See also Note 18 above.

The degeneracy of the Achæmenians was due primarily to their growing wealth and luxurious living. Kurush had to win the empire for himself, Kambujya conquered Egypt, and Darius, besides conquering Hind³³ and considerable parts of Europe,³⁴ had to organise and set going the government of his vast domains. All his time and energies were devoted to supervising every part of his empire and constantly journeying throughout the length and breadth of his dominions. He accumulated vast treasures and though he spent lavishly, so great was his revenue that he left behind him a full treasury. Xerxes was, if possible, a greater builder, and his palaces and halls at Persepolis were larger and finer than those of his father. Even thus he could not spend all his treasure and so he began the practice of luxurious living. Darius was essentially a plain living soldier, inured to hard life and not caring for luxury. With Xerxes and those who followed matters were different. They were brought up in the lap of luxury. Even when they marched to war against their foes, they had all the luxuries in the camp. They had their wives and their innumerable attendants following them, and these were often a positive hindrance.

Polygamy was the rule among these rulers though there was only one Chief Queen. The Achæmenians married several Queens of their own social rank, most often very near relatives.³⁵ Inbreeding can perpetuate and accentuate virtues as well as vices. And once the rot had set in, each successive generation of such unions increased the evil manifold. The steady decline in the capabilities of the rulers is clearly to be traced to this cause.

Add to these the jealousies of the various Queens in the royal palace. There were intrigues started as soon as the Great King began to show signs of old age. And often upon the death of the Ruler there were wars of succession or rebellions followed by wholesale massacres of all the princes who were next of kin to the victor. It was in one of these fractricidal wars that Irān lost Kurush the Younger,³⁶ the one Achæmenian of the later generation fully worthy of the great name he bore. His mother Parysatis was the evil genius

33. Hind included the Punjab and Sindh (west of the Indus) and probably Kacch and Kathiawar also.

34. The European expedition of Darius was against the marauding Scythian tribes round the shores of the Black Sea. He conquered the lands on the Black Sea upto the mouths of the Danube and marching further along the coast seems to have penetrated as far as Crimea. This expedition was carried out about B.C. 511-10. The terrible climate and scarcity of water forced the army to retreat. The distance from Irān and the hardship of staying there made it difficult to hold this region for a long time. It slipped out of Iranian control very soon and was not missed.

35. Herodotus and others say that they actually married their sisters. The custom was definitely followed in Egypt and there is nothing surprising if the Achæmenians also had a similar custom, however much it may "shock" our present ideas of propriety and decency.

36. He was the son of Darius II and Parysatis. He was slain at the battle of Cunaxa in 401 B.C.

of the Achæmenian house. Her ambitions started the flames of fratricidal hatred which were quenched finally only at the conquest of Alexander.

Wrapped up in enervating luxuries and pleasures, surrounded by women and parasites and distracted by their eternal squabbles, the later Achæmenians had little time and less energy to supervise the government of their Empire. They tried in vain to rule their harem ; the empire governed itself.

The Satraps took full advantage of this position and consolidated their own power and in their turn became wealthy and luxurious and proud. They cared less and less for their subjects and thus the various provinces were all ready to rebel. The Great King was no longer the "father of his people," but a distant, unknown tyrant. The masses had to pay heavily to keep the Great King and their own lesser kings in vice and luxury. This sapped the vitality of the very people upon whom the safety of the empire depended ; and so at the first touch of the vigorous Alexander the whole vast structure collapsed like a house of cards.

With the growth of luxurious living came also a corresponding deterioration in religion. The pure worship of Ahura-Mazda was replaced by the Mithra-Anāhitā cult. Mithra was the Sun who illumines our hearts and minds and stands for justice and righteousness. Anāhitā by herself represented the waters that fertilise. She also represented perfect womanhood. Originally the ideas were very high and uplifting. Both of them were associated with the rejuvenation of the earth at the beginning of the solar year—the returning Sun and the flooded Rivers of the spring season. To them was consecrated the ushering in of the Nauroz (*vasantotsava*), the festival of gaiety and merry-making and soon it degenerated into drunken and obscene orgies.³⁷ This perversion of what was once pure and inspiring sapped the very life of the nation. The huge structure which Darius had erected as the result of his pious, austere life—his *tapāścaryā*—had now lost this driving force of *dharma*, of duty and service. The later kings continued to use the ancient phrases of Darius in their inscriptions and invoke blessings on themselves and their posterity. But these are mere empty words. Bereft of its true soul-force the mighty empire of the Achaemenians was like a huge tree eaten through and through by white ants. It needed but a small force to send it crashing to earth.

The Achæmenians ruled over a very large portion of Asia for 229 years.³⁸

37. Exactly the same was the history of the Isis-Osiris cult of Egypt and the Ishtar cult of Babylon and the Dionysios festival of Greece. The original idea was essentially the same—the rejuvenation of all life at the end of winter. The Hindu Holi festival, of similar origin, also degenerated along the same lines.

38. The Great Kings were : (1) Kurush the Great (559-529 B.C.) 30 years ; (2) Kambujiya (529-522 B.C.) 7 years ; (3) Darius the Great (521-486 B.C.) 36 years ; (4) Xerxes I (486-465 B.C.) 21 years ; (5) Artaxerxes I (Makrokheir) (465-424 B.C.) 41 years ; (6) Xerxes II (424 B.C.) Six weeks ; (7) Darius II (Nothus) (424-405 B.C.) 19 years ; (8) Artaxerxes II (Mnemon) (405-359 B.C.) 46 years ; (9) Artaxerxes III (Ochus) (359-338 B.C.) 21 years ; (10) Areas (388-336 B.C.) 2 years ; (11) Darius III (Codomanus) (336-330 B.C.) 6 years.

On the whole their rule was kindly and benevolent. They brought peace and prosperity to the many nations under them. Above all they gave to the world two of the greatest among the kings of Earth—Kurush and Darius.

They were both ideals of Aryan manhood and ideal Aryan Kings and as Aryans we should be proud of their achievements and of their royal virtues and we should cite them as examples to rulers and leaders of men for all time.

THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES OF THE MARATHAS*

By

RAO BAHADUR G. S. SARDESAI, B.A.

THE PROBLEM.—Allow me at the outset to thank you and the organisers of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan for the honour you have done me by inviting me to address you on the subject of my study of Maratha history, a subject which I believe is only now taking shape in a real scientific spirit and which I am afraid has not received the wide attention it deserves at the hands of scholars even of Mahārāṣṭra and therefore much less from those of other Indian provinces. India as you are well aware is a continent of many different races, creeds and languages, almost like Europe, whose divided interests have done no small harm to her unity in past ages and who on that account often fell an easy prey to foreign conquerors and exploiters. Indeed we all know how distressing is the record of India's history during the past eight or ten centuries, when India has been repeatedly subjected to foreign lust and conquest and when all her boasted superior culture of thousands of years proved of no avail in the hour of peril. If we trace back this downfall of our Hindu civilization, we come to about the year 1000 of the Christian era when that great Moslem soldier Mahmud of Ghazni made his first inroad upon India and started that career of conquest which entirely unsettled India's internal situation in political, social and religious matters for some five hundred years thereafter, until another able Moslem ruler, the brave and energetic Babar won the crown of India on the field of Panipat in the year 1526 and established a new era of peace and prosperity which marked the Mughal rule of the next two hundred years. The great Arab scholar Al-Beruni supplies us the starting-point and the versatile Babar the end of his long period which marks the Muslim conquest of India. In order to form a correct estimate of the good or evil which the rise of the Maratha power has done to India, we must look back a little on this preceding era of Muslim conquest and review in our mind what the downfall of the old Aryan culture and civilization meant for the average inhabitant of this vast continent. An exact conception of time is at the same time presupposed for a clear grasp of the subject.

The Marathas as you well know took their rise from their great hero Shivaji. In the face of the powerful Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, Shivaji carved out an independent kingdom and had himself crowned in the year 1674. We might roughly say that for nearly 150 years thereafter the Marathas ruled the destinies of India in varying degrees of efficiency and dominion. Since the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 to that of Nana Fadnis in 1800, all the political transactions of this vast country were clearly controlled and dictated from the Maratha capital in the south. Although this period

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is not very large in its measure of length, it has a peculiar and significant importance in history, which is perhaps not well realized by the average student. What message does this short Maratha rule convey to us today is I believe the crucial question which I will try to explain in some measure during my discourse of this afternoon.

2. THE ROOT CAUSE OF MARATHA RISE.—From hoary antiquity to the middle ages, or, to be more precise, from the days of Gautama Buddha, Alexander and Ashoka to those of Prithviraj Chowhan, India had enjoyed a long life of achievements and progress not only for herself but she radiated her civilizing influence to all the backward peoples of the old world either directly or indirectly. To Aryanize the world, *kṛtvato viśvamāryam*, was the great mission of benevolence and good-will by which this Bhārata-Varsha was able to assimilate in her body politic all the foreign elements that came in from outside. The Greeks, the Scythians, the Mongols, the Parthians entered the country in succession through countless ages, but they all came to be entirely absorbed into one homogeneous Aryan community and after a time not a trace remained of their foreign character. We see a similar phenomenon in the Norman conquest of England, where the conquerors and the conquered soon formed one united race. But the Moslem conquest of India from the beginning assumed an entirely different aspect. The Moslems have ever since remained a foreign race in this vast land, distinct in tenet and religious practice, so as to present many knotty problems to the rulers and the administrators of succeeding centuries, in spite of heroic efforts of great monarchs, saints and politicians to bring about a lasting social and religious union between the two. It is this main problem which the Marathas in their own way tried to solve. Let us see what the problem was.

The main difference between the Moslem conquerors and other foreign invaders that preceded them, lay in the extreme hostility and intolerance of the former to the idols of the Hindus, in their fanaticism and hatred towards idol-worship and towards all the paraphernalia of religious observances which had entered every phase of a Hindu's life. Go wherever you like, the results of this iconoclastic spirit is painfully apparent throughout India, particularly in the Northern regions. Not only beautiful images but fine and valuable works of art, most elegant carvings, best specimens of old inscriptions have been ruthlessly destroyed as abominable evidence of a false creed. This havoc is particularly noticeable in most of the holy places such as Benares, Mathura, Kanauj, Dhar and others. The process first started with the Prophet himself and has often been copied with greater zeal by some of his ardent followers in India. It is this intolerant phase of the Muslim faith which has not only created an unbridgeable gulf between the two races, but has probably helped the rapid spread of Muslim dominion throughout the world. An equally striking difference between the two creeds lies in the practice adopted by the Muslims since the beginning of their career of forcibly converting to their creed all those who belonged to other faiths, while the Hindus have remained entirely exclusive and have even opposed the taking back into their

fold any of those who were converted under compulsion. The present-day Muslim population of India has only a small strain of foreign blood in it and is mostly of Indian descent originating in forcible marriages and conversion.

It must not however be supposed that the Muslims had an uncontested or easy passage into India. They took more than five hundred years to complete their conquest of this country and even then the Southern regions never became completely amenable to their rule. The Muslim advance was stoutly resisted by their Hindu opponents on many a sanguinary battlefield. If Alauddin Khilji succeeded in crushing the last surviving Hindu Dynasty of the Yadavas of Deogiri, another strong Hindu Empire rose further South at Vijayanagar mainly through Hindu brains : but that too had its turn of death at the fatal field of Talikot and the Hindu cause seemed all but hopelessly lost.

3. THE FIRST GRAND ACHIEVEMENT.—In the midst of this dark gloom and helplessness which had rapidly spread over this Indian continent, the first ray of hope came to save the situation from an unexpected quarter. An unknown and ignorant boy suddenly rose to fame and power in the Western hilly regions peopled by a rude and unlettered race of hardy cultivators more adept in the use of the plough and the scythe than the sword and the shot. The wonderful genius of Shivaji was soon able to organise his scattered tribesmen and harness the dormant resources so as to bring to their knees not only the several feudal lords known as Jagirdars of the Deccan but defy the most powerful of the great Mughal Emperors and wrest out of his grasp the independence of his homeland. Whatever judgment may be passed on the character of the ways and means employed by Shivaji in gaining his ends, the bold and intrepid stand he made in the spring of 1666 in that famous Diwani-Am, a small slim figure, all alone, before the mightiest and the illustrious monarch seated on his peacock-throne at Agra and surrounded by all his power and dignity, sent an indescribable thrill through all India, filling every breast with new hope and fresh courage for downtrodden humanity. Shivaji's equally wonderful escape from the Emperor's clutches was universally interpreted as divine interference for the protection of a righteous cause, proclaiming self-rule and independence. Shivaji at once became an all-India figure. This small incident forms the kernel of Maratha history and points out the lesson which it teaches. It is indeed the first great achievement of which not alone the Maratha race, but the suppressed nationalities all over India may well be proud.

4. AN ESSENTIAL NEED OF NATIONAL SUCCESS.—Let me tell you a small story in this connection which illustrates the principle on which Shivaji acted and which gave him the strength he exhibited in later life. Indeed it is this principle on which politics depends for its success. You already know, I am sure, that Shivaji had captured Sinhagad the capital from which the western region was ruled by the Sultan of Bijapur. Shivaji signalled his career in early life by the capture of this fort and made it the basis of his

svarājya. The king of Bijapur in retaliation imprisoned Shivaji's father and demanded the restoration of the fort as the price of his life. The father sent orders to his son to restore the place and save his life. But Shivaji would not yield away the fruit of years of labour and toil. This distressed the mother awfully and a severe difference arose between the two. They however agreed to refer the dispute to their hereditary political adviser, Sonopant Dabir, a man of ripe judgment and keen circumspection, whom Shivaji had often deputed to meet Aurangzeb and arrange with him a settlement of his affairs. Sonopant at once decided the point and advised Shivaji to give back Sinhaḡad. The affair has been lucidly narrated by the author of *Shiva Bhārat* in a long chapter of beautiful diction. The crux of the foreign minister's advice is contained in a short line which says

सम्यक् प्रयोगादपरिक्षतायां । नीताविवोत्साहगुणेन संपत् ॥

सुविक्रान्तस्य नृपतेः सर्वमेव महीतलम् ॥

It means that all the wide world is open for a man of prowess. Sonopant asked Shivaji to give back Sinhaḡad and save his father's life. "If you have the necessary courage," said he, "you can win back any number of forts of the type of Sinhaḡad : but if you have it not, what would a single fort avail you?" Shivaji moulded all his career on this main principle, which as we see even today guides the destinies of nations. Mr. Hall in his "Building of a Nation" cites the same truth in different language. "It is evident that there is no quality upon which the success of a nation so much depends as upon its courage. No nation can rise to a high place or maintain its independence without being brave. Nations that are cowards must fail." This self-confidence was given to India by Shivaji. His learned biographer, Sir Jadunath Sarkar calls him "the last great constructive genius of the Hindu race during modern ages. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth."

For centuries past the Muslim aggression had created a kind of revulsion in the Hindu mind ; the spirit of unity and solidarity was always in the air. The downfall of Devgiri and Vijayanagar was rankling in popular sentiment. Shivaji's mother, descended from the former, fanned the tender embers of young Shivaji's spirit. His father worked out his life's mission in the latter region and came to be inspired with a keen desire to put down the opponents of his religion. No wonder then that the son of two such parents should inherit an inspiration to work for national uplift. Historically this subject is full of immense possibilities for fresh research and valuable reconstruction.

5. THE SECOND GREAT ACHIEVEMENT.—But Shivaji was not blessed with the long life which his opponent Aurangzeb enjoyed. He died an untimely death and left no competent successor either to complete his unfinished task or even to preserve what he had gained in a life of arduous struggle. Aurangzeb was shrewd and vigilant enough to seize the opportunity. He descended with all his mighty hosts upon the newly founded poor Svarājya of the Marathas. In his tremendous sweep he quickly gathered a rich harvest.

He put an end to the Moslem Kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, captured Sambhaji alive and put him to an ignominious death. Hereafter came into full evidence the real spirit infused into his nation by the great Shivaji. The second great achievement of the Maratha nation is exemplified in the war of Independence which they successfully waged for 17 long years against Mughal forces led by the Emperor in person. "Just when their country's fortune was at its lowest ebb and everything seemed to be lost beyond hope, these very misfortunes served to unite the people of all ranks and to rouse a band of patriots who were trained in Shivaji's school and who sacrificed their all to secure their national independence by driving the powerful Emperor to his last resting place." Judging by the results achieved there can be no doubt that these twenty years represent the most glorious period of Maratha history. The patriots who carried on the war of independence to a successful issue had no leader of any magnetic power, they had to fight the vast Mughal armies over a field extending for thousands of miles from their original mountain home. Without revenue, without armies, without forts and without resources they managed to develop a phase of warfare which came to be termed guerrilla. They more than avenged the sad death of their King Sambhaji whose spirit could have the satisfaction of having accomplished by his death what he failed to achieve by his life. Writes Ranade, "The credit is equally due to Aurangzeb's own misplaced ambition. He stirred the people of Mahārāṣṭra to their inmost depths : the hard discipline of 200 years cemented their national and patriotic instincts and enabled their leaders during the next three generations to carry their conquests to the farthest limits of India. The war brought out the higher moral force of the nation, exhibiting rare virtues such as heroism, endurance, administrative genius, a faith in the justice of their cause, devotion to a high ideal, a sense of brotherhood in common danger, and above all a strength to defend their cherished religion, which had suffered so cruelly at the hands of Moslems."

I am not talking mere empty and boastful words. They are supported by facts which have been proved by ample unimpeachable evidence which a band of devoted scholars have searched and published during the last forty or fifty years. More than five hundred printed volumes are now available mainly in Marathi containing original letters and sources which are at present supplying ample materials for the labours of professors and students of the various Indian Universities. In fact it is these profuse materials which give an unrivalled importance to Maratha history. As I said above, India is the home of many nationalities, among which it is the good fortune of the Marathas alone to possess plentiful old papers which bear evidence both to their achievements and failures in equal measure. I do not suppose such wealth of material exists in the case of any other nationality except the English and the Moslems.

6. THE RAJPUTS AND THE MARATHAS JOIN HANDS.—The war of independence and the Emperor's tragic death had however not completed the

task which Shivaji had set before himself. Rather the new situation gave rise to fresh difficulties and some peculiar problems. The system of distributing conquered or even unconquered lands in support of military contingents supplied by the various chiefs had been scrupulously put down by Shivaji but it came to be again revived as an unavoidable measure during the stress of the long war. When Aurangzeb found that neither the death of Shivaji nor that of his son Sambhaji, had availed him in putting down the Maratha spirit of revolt, he had long planned as a last resort to create a split in the Maratha solidarity. This ruse succeeded wonderfully when Sambhaji's captured son Shahu was released and allowed to rule his little state as a Mughal vassal. A civil war ensued in Mahārāṣṭra between him and his aunt Tarabai and would have completely wiped away all the good results of the successful war, had not the genius of Balaji Vishwanath rescued the situation with an uncommon vision which Shahu had the wisdom to detect. Shahu at once made him his Peshwa or Prime Minister and invested him with full powers to manage the affairs of the state. A wide expansion of Maratha dominion was at once projected and various leaders of Maratha bands who had received valuable training in the late war and had gauged the weakness of the Mughal Empire, now decided to turn the situation to their advantage in mutual concert. With Balaji were associated several veteran Maratha soldiers and diplomats : his two sons were by no means inconspicuous. Aurangzeb's armies were mostly manned by northern Rajput chiefs and princes who during their long residence in the Deccan had become friends with the Marathas, and sympathised with the ideals in opposition to the old Emperor's obstinate policy. The result was that the Marathas of the South and the Rajputs of the North cordially joined hands in mutual friendship and co-operation in order to complete the ideal of a Hindu Empire perhaps dimly conceived by Shivaji himself. Balaji's two sons Bajirao and Chimnaji, who were imbued with the spirit of Sonopant Dabir's advice, mentioned above, carried on the game of Svarājya so dexterously that by the time that Nadir Shah came and dealt the Mughal Empire its last mortal blow, Maratha dominion had advanced almost to the borders of the whole Indian Continent. Bajirao's dash had so impressed the Rajput princes of the North that he was looked upon as a saviour next only to Shivaji in point of valour and diplomacy.

Let me here make my meaning clear. We must guard against several misconceptions which often mar a right interpretation of historical problems. I know how the Rajputs became the mortal enemies of the Marathas : but that was a later development, a result of the wrong handling of political affairs by succeeding generations—and this, as I shall soon mention, is the main failure of the Marathas... They failed to preserve the old selfless national ideal enunciated by Shivaji. This ideal was fully in evidence till the death of Shahu in the middle of the 18th Century. It was also for a time revived by the fourth Peshwa Madhaorao I, with whose premature death in 1772 finally vanished all the dreams of a united Hindu India and the boasted

virtues exhibited by the Marathas during earlier days.

7. HINDU-MOSLEM CO-OPERATION IN SERVING THE MOTHERLAND.—To set down clearly the achievements and failures of a nation is by no means an easy task for the frail human powers of interpreting past events. Such interpretation is bound to vary with different individuals. Bearing this in mind, I will according to my light here clear the ground by defining the objects of Maratha policy.

A student of history must render impartial justice, when conflicting claims arise. I do not wish to be partial to the Marathas, because I am one of them. If I show high appreciation of Maratha achievements, I am not slow to denounce their weaknesses and failures with equal severity. The word 'Hindupada Padshahi' or a united Hindu Empire has perhaps roused different conceptions in different minds. Here I would remind all students to grasp the correct idea in historical setting conveyed by that much abused word. The Marathas including Shivaji, I maintain, did endeavour to create a Hindupada Padshahi for India but the ideal was more religious than political. The Peshwas, or even Shivaji, never entertained the idea of establishing a Hindu monarch on the throne at Delhi. They only wanted and claimed full religious liberty and tolerance from Muslim rulers : they did not care who ruled at Delhi, provided they experienced no interference with their religious practices. Shivaji himself remained contented with gaining independence for his homeland. His famous letter to Aurangzeb clearly sets forth his ideals, which later the Peshwas tried to translate into practice. They had not a few opportunities to install a Hindu Monarch at Delhi ; in 1748, 1754 and 1759 they could easily have carried this out if they had so willed. In 1771 the Peshwa Madhaurao then in the height of his power contrived only to extend Maratha protection to Shah Alam and at his request restored him to Delhi. He could then have easily put a Hindu King there instead. Mahadji Scindia was in later days equally powerful to accomplish such an aim when he punished Gulam Kadir. On the other hand, he only obtained an imperial firman against cow-sacrifice, and a grant from the Emperor for the holy places of Mathura. Prayag, Benares and Gaya being put under Maratha rule for religious purposes.

The Marathas, one must admit, had no correct notions either of religion or of politics and failed to realise that religion cannot be dissociated from politics as we find even today in our present efforts to bring about Hindu-Moslem union of national interests. Innumerable letters have been printed, addressed by the Peshwas during nearly a hundred years of their regime to their Sardars in the North, urging the latter not to interfere with Moslem rule but only have the holy places released from Moslem to Hindu control. The Marathas had absolutely no quarrel with the Moslem community or religion : they did not interfere with their practices : on the contrary they respected their observances as much as they claimed respect for their own. They only hated the uncalled fanaticism and intolerance of Moslems towards Hindu idols and Hindu worship. The wholesale conversions and frequent slaughters of mem-

bers of alien faiths by Moslem fanatics were practices foreign to Aryan civilization and extremely revolting to the Aryan mind, which always breathed peace, tolerance and goodwill to all foreigners. This persuasive process of Aryanization was what the Hindus in general and the Marathas in particular cared to preserve and enforce as an object of their policy. Fanatics of the type of Taimur exulted in raising towers of slaughtered heads to strike terror. It was Aurangzeb's extreme intolerance which Shivaji objected to most. In retaliation of Shivaji's safe escape from Agra, Aurangzeb in 1667 pulled down the famous Kasni Vishveshvara shrine of Benares and threw a challenge to the Hindus. Shivaji accepted the challenge and the recovery of Sinhadag by Tanaji was the immediate result as we now know. Shivaji respected the Koran as much as his own holy scriptures. One of his own spiritual *gurus* was Baba Yakut of Kelashi, his chief naval commander or Darya Sarang was a Moslem named Ibrahim Khan. It was a Moslem Farras, a faithful servant of Shivaji, who endangered his own life to effect the escape of Shivaji from Agra. Shivaji's personal secretary for a long time was a learned Moslem, named Mulla Haidar who was afterwards appointed by Aurangzeb to the post of Chief Kazi at Delhi.

The same idea underlay the Peshwa's policy towards their Moslem opponents. Sadashivrao Bhau in his extreme peril at Panipat relied upon his faithful artillery commander Ibrahim Khan Gardi, whom Abdali in vain tried to seduce into his own service. Both the elder and the younger Gaziuddin, ministers of the Emperor at Delhi accepted the cordial friendship of several Maratha leaders. I need not cite instances of full cordiality and complete confidence existing between Moslems and Hindus for common aims, mutual interests and united effort in the service of the motherland. The great Akbar and a number of saints and politicians such as Kabir, Nanak, Abul Fazal and Faizi were fully imbued with this spirit of mutual help and respect. Thus did the two races mould the history of the past and thus will the two once more enact the history of the future if only they evince the same spirit of tolerance and helpfulness. What wonderful achievements may they not jointly put forth hereafter in common service of their motherland?

8. THE FUNCTION OF HISTORY.—I hope I am not digressing. We do not in our ignorance realize what services history may not do to nations if only properly interpreted. History is not a stereotyped and unchangeable execution. It must change from time to time and supply the varying needs of new situations. An eminent thinker thus explains the function of history :—

“History requires to be reshaped from time to time not merely because new aspects come into view, nor simply because new facts come to be discovered but mainly because the participant in the progress of an age is led to standpoints and considerations which demand a fresh treatment of past events. History must supply the lessons which the changing situations of national life need in this everchanging world.”

9. MARATHA FAILURES : THE SYSTEM OF JAGIRS.—I shall now try to mention some of those points in which the Marathas failed and in which we

can say they could have done better. I consider their main racial defect to be their disagreeable and ever quarrelsome or fault-finding nature in all matters of life and activity. Successful life is based essentially upon a supreme sense of compromise. Every activity of life, and of politics most of all, depends for its success on mutual toleration, a kind of give and take, a surrender of views and principles when critical situations demand it. But every Maratha is as a rule a law to himself : he will not give up his stand if common interest demands it. The greatest blunder of the Peshwas in my opinion was that they based their policy upon independent chiefships. Separate spheres of influence were allotted to the several Jagirdars, of course under stress of circumstances and as the best means of rapid expansion of power. These semi-independent chiefs quarrelled among themselves, disobeyed the constituted authority and damaged national interests in pursuit of selfish personal aims. It must be admitted that for a rapid expansion of power, in the absence of military roads and easy communications, the system of Jagirs was very well suited : and so long as capable persons were available to exercise control from the centre, it certainly worked well. But a succession of capable Peshwas could not be always assured or expected. The last efficient Peshwa Madhavrao I died, his brother Narayanrao came to be soon after murdered, and power slipped into different hands so that the Jagirdars' mutual jealousies worked the inevitable ruin. The inveterate enmity between the two powerful houses of Scindia and Holkar was a never-ending phenomenon and proved the ruin of the *raj*. Their example was later on copied by the Southern Jagirdars during the decadent days of Bajirao II's incompetent regime.

The Jagirs or independent chiefships presupposed hereditary succession, a pernicious principle which could not assure efficiency and which soon spread to the whole state service. Those who first acquired the jagirs were certainly capable men and made their acquisitions by proved merit. But their successors soon degenerated into incompetent leaders of administrators, neglected their duties and responsibilities and only fought for their hereditary rights and possessions with renewed vehemence. The climax came during the time of the last Peshwa Bajirao II, the most degenerate and incompetent of all to hold that office. Unfortunately for him the rising fortunes of the East India Co. came to be entrusted to a band of British soldiers and diplomats which have been unequalled in efficiency by any others even in Anglo-Indian history. The three Wellesley brothers, Lord Lake, Malcolm, Close, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, Munro, Jenkins have all within the space of a decade been so efficient in the tasks assigned to them that it would have been a wonder if they could have been matched by any other alien race. The twenty years between 1798 and 1818 undid all the good work of Shivaji and the Peshwas, and have left behind only dim memories of past achievements.

10. LACK OF ORGANISATION.—Another common defect of us Orientals is an utter lack of method and organisation. In intellect probably we will beat almost any race in the world as the history of India for thousands of years doubtless proves. But forethought, organisation, regular and punctual

attention to details, co-operation and team-work : these are some of the most essential qualities of success, which we as a race lack miserably and in which we have been beaten hollow for ages past. It is only recently that we have been realizing these defects and now trying to remedy them. The Marathas are probably the worst offenders and were found wanting in these qualities at the very moment when they needed them most.

You will perhaps ask me what permanent mark have the Marathas left on the history of India as a whole. Opinion will always differ in answering such questions. Self-love and self-adulation is ingrained in human nature wherever we go. I am a believer in the maxim enunciated by Shakespeare :—"The evil that men do lives after them : the good is oft interred with their bones." If we go on harping on the dark side of any man or matter, nothing good will be found in the world.

11. THE MOST RECENT EXPERIMENT IN SELF-RULE.—I have already indirectly touched upon the policy of the Marathas. They have certainly no grand or artistic structures to their credit. But they have neither to their discredit any permanent signs of desecration or wanton destruction : they often plundered and robbed, but did not ill-treat innocent childhood or womanhood, nor executed wholesale slaughters of humanity nor frightful sights for striking terror. Occasional instances of some wanton cruelties may be produced : but I dare hope they are exceptions and rather prove the rule on that account. Anyway the Maratha's is the most recent experiment in self-government, of which India should always be proud. Lokamānya Tilak when called upon by the British rulers to learn the art of self-Government and wait for Svarājya until they proved their capacity before demanding full rights, always retorted that his ancestors had already demonstrated their success in that art, that they had achieved successes and endured reverses on many an occasion. Give us the field for our activities and we will prove what we can do. Rajputana, Bengal, Gujarat, Pataliputra, Kanauj, Madura, Mandugad, Dhar and many other places of India have certainly much to their credit which we can all rightly cherish : but they were all old experiments, more or less buried in oblivion through historic ages. The most recent, the most active, the most memorable experiment possessing ample and convincing proof in records is that of the Marathas only : the Sikhs in the last century did doubtless evince great national virtues : but they were too shortlived and too tragic for the whole Indian nation to copy. The history of the Marathas is most recent and also most in evidence throughout India. It doubtless requires to be reshaped and readjusted to the present needs, a task to which, let us hope, we shall bend all our energies and resources in the near future so as to secure the highest common good of this our ancient motherland.

“THE EARLY ARYANS IN GUJARĀTA.”

[The Hon'ble Mr. K. M. Munshi delivered the Thakkar Vassanji Madhavji Lectures under the auspices of the University of Bombay in the Senate Hall on January 27, 31, February 2, 3, and 4, 1939. The subject chosen by him was “The Early Aryans in Gujarāta.” The bold outlook which he brought to bear on the question and particularly on the Dāśarājña, the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict, the historicity of Janamejaya Pārikṣita, and the imaginative character of the Mahābhārata deserve a careful perusal.

In the Lectures which will be published in due course by the University of Bombay will be found full and complete treatment of the problem with appropriate references and authorities. Meanwhile, we are here summarising the Lectures, setting out only the main conclusions arrived at by him. The final appeal for a National History of India deserves special attention.—EDITOR.]

I

THE PROBLEM AND THE CONDITIONS OF INVESTIGATION

Gujarāta, at the dawn of history, extended from Mount Abu in the North to the Bassein Creek in the South, Cutch being under the sea. It was the land of primitive Nāgas, and the names of Śaryāta, Cyavana and Ānarta are the only records of the Aryan colonisation of Gujarāta. The evidence regarding the colonisation contains many historical traditions and it can be divided into (i) Vedic and (ii) Puranic, and may be examined from the points of chronology and credibility.

I. The Mantras of the Ṛgveda are no doubt the oldest literary records. They however contain three varying grades of testimony :

1. References which were traditional even in the Ṛgvedic period. To this class belongs the reference to Manu, Bhṛgu and Yayāti, the son of Nahuṣa who is mentioned only once as an ancient sacrificer. They were mere names retained in the racial memory and may be dismissed as unreal.

2. More or less contemporary records like the prayers of Viśvāmitra while crossing the river with the army or the blessings of Vasiṣṭha for Sudās. They are fairly trustworthy and may be relied upon.

3. Later interpolations.

II. The next in order of time are parts of Atharvaveda containing post-Ṛgvedic references.

III. The records which come next are the Aitareya and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas. They can be treated as reliable only to the extent to which they embody contemporary or recent events.

IV. The next in time are the old and persistent traditions, common to all the Purāṇas, which were drawn from the original Purāṇa or Purāṇas.

V. Puranic traditions and pedigrees, other than those referred to in old and persistent traditions referred to above, which were made up centuries later and revised from time to time.

Mr. Pargiter has tried to reconstruct history only out of Puranic sources among which the Mahābhārata occupies the premier place. But many of the traditions in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata are unreliable. The original lost Purāṇa recorded traditions existing in the pre-Janamejaya period, but its material having been shaped with particular objects, its historical value is much impaired.

The Puranic traditions yield historical material only if the corrective of the Vedic literature is applied.

Mr. Pargiter's attempt to collate facts from the Purāṇas, etc. has been frustrated on account of the undue importance he attaches to the so-called Kṣatriya tradition.

The early Vedic literature is silent as to the distant parts of Āryāvarta possibly because the Aryans of the outer Band who fought and mixed with the Nāgas and Dasyus were looked down with contempt.

The first historical outpost for our investigation of the Puranic tradition is the Dāśarājña, the Battle of Ten Kings, recorded as a contemporary incident in the Ṛgveda and hence reliable.

DĀSARĀJNA.

Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha are the rival priests of Sudās, king of the Tṛtsus. Viśvāmitra, being ousted by Vasiṣṭha leaves the court along with his tribe and organises a strong confederacy of ten kings against Sudās. In response to Viśvāmitra's prayers, Śatadru and Vipās, which were unfordable afford passage to the allies who secure a first victory against Sudās but are soon routed. Ultimately, Sudās emerges triumphant killing the leaders of the confederacy. King Purukutsa dies in captivity and his son Trasadasyu is commissioned with restoring the Puru kingdom. Puru was a descendant of Ikṣvāku.

The Vedic records thus destroy the accuracy of the Puranic traditions which maintain that Sudās was a North Pañcāla, Hariścandra an Ikṣvāku, Trīṣaṅku a king, etc. The genealogies of the Purāṇas, if the same test is applied, are fictitious.

II

THE HAIHAYA EMPIRE.

The Mānavas claim descent from Manu who is said to have rescued the creation from the great flood. Manu had lost all historical reality in the Ṛgvedic Age, and the Purāṇas make him the father of ten valiant sons, some of whom bear eponymous names.

Vedic literature did not include the Śaryātas among the Pañcajanas, who possibly consisted of the Yadus, the Pūrus, the Anus, the Druhyus and the Turvaśas. The Śaryātas did not belong to the Yayāti group, but were connected with the Bhṛgus.

The Bhṛgus are said to have descended from Bhṛgu the son of Varuṇa, later represented as the son of Manu. Reputed to have brought down the

fire on earth, the Bhṛgu were noted for their priestly importance and martial prowess, and the Atharva Veda was their special branch. The Atharvans, Aṅgirasas and Bhṛgu were originally the same, but separated afterwards. The Bhṛgu were closely associated with the Yayāti group which flourished before the separation of the Indian Aryans from their Persian brethren. The Bhṛgu and the Mānavas freely intermarried with the non-Aryans.

Śaryāta occurs in the R̥gveda as the name of a singer, and the Brāhmanas mention Śaryāta in connection with the rejuvenation of Cyavana, proving the historicity of Cyavana's connection with Śaryāti. Śaryāti Mānava is the first Aryan associated with Gujarāta, as his son (Ānarta) gave it its first Aryan name.

Cyavana is always connected with Gujarāta and the Bhṛgu (closely connected with Gujarāta) were the descendants of Cyavana.

Haihayas, known by various names, came to be associated with Gujarāta at a later time. They were allied to the Śaryāta group and not the Yayāti group as the later tradition maintains. The immediate successors of Arjuna Kārtavīrya are all eponymous kings whose names indicate the territory occupied by the Haihaya confederacy, which was bound by the Yamunā in the North-East, the Vetravati in the East, the Narmadā on the South, and the sea and the desert on the West.

THE HAIHAYA CONQUESTS.

The Haihayas from Malwa proceeded to conquer the East, and seized the kingdom of Kāśī for a time. The capital was recovered, recaptured and regained, in turn, and finally king Pratardana drove back the Vītahavya Haihayas whose king found refuge with a Bhṛgu. They then conquered the Śālva country. Arjuna Kārtavīrya of the Haihayas was a mighty conqueror, a samrāj and a cakravartin, the first Indian Emperor. He propitiated Dattatreya and started on an extensive conquest completely subjugating the Nāgas. On the ruins of the Nāga settlements on the banks of the Narmadā arose the first great Aryan city of Western India—Māhiṣmatī.

III

PARAŚURĀMA'S CONQUEST OF GUJARĀTA.

All the important Purāṇas embody the valuable tradition of the foundation of Māhiṣmatī by Arjuna Kārtavīrya, and unanimously locate it on the Narmadā where the tidal waves came right up to it.

None of the places so far identified with Māhiṣmatī, viz., Mandala, Maheshwara, Mandhata, etc. stands where tidal waves could have reached, and none is central with reference to Anūpa of which Māhiṣmatī was a capital. The only correct identification seems to be near the site of modern Broach. Anūpa would therefore fall within modern Gujarāta.

In the Mahābhārata, Anūpa (lit. place near the sea) represented an insignificant kingdom on the west coast. Surāṣṭra, Anūpa and Ānarta were contiguous countries, and Anūpa lay between the Mahi and the Tapti.

During the period of the composition of the Mahābhārata, Kārtavīrya's country and its capital Māhiṣmatī appear to be non-existent ; a descendant of Kārtavīrya is shown as a king of Avanti.

The Māhiṣmatī of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas was a city where lived a tribe designated as Mahiṣaka, Māhiṣika or Māhiṣmaka, which appears to be non-Aryan and ruled by Nila in the epic period. The city, further, has been placed in the Dakṣiṇāpatha, beyond the Narmadā South of the Vindhyas, and hence cannot be identified with the Māhiṣmatī of the Haihayas.

During the post-Mahābhārata and Buddhistic times there was a town named Māhiṣmatī or Mahesmati somewhere to the south of the Vindhyas.

There was also a third Māhiṣmatī founded by Mucakunda, which seems to have disappeared altogether.

Kārtavīrya, the founder of the city, brought Rāvaṇa in captivity, and burnt the hermitage of Āpava Vasiṣṭha, who cursed him. Later, he turned to the Bhṛgu. He raided the hermitage of Jamadagni and ill-treated him, carrying his cattle. Infuriated at the insult, Rāma, Jamadagni's son, killed Arjuna. Thereafter, Rāma as the head of the Bhṛgu destroyed the Haihaya power, razed Māhiṣmatī to the ground and established himself in Śūrparaka.

The Purāṇas indicate that Paraśurāma destroyed the Kṣatriyas 21 times and rid the world of them.

After extending the limits of the Āryāvarta to Narmadā and Ayodhyā, Paraśurāma, regarded as the father of the martial art and the embodiment of triumphant Āryāvarta, made a gift of the entire earth to Kaśyapa, and retired to Śūrparaka. Later traditions invest him with legendary character making him immortal and an Avatāra of Viṣṇu. The epics indulge in giving exaggerated accounts of the exploits of Paraśurāma making him kill a host of army single-handed.

The Haihayas exercised suzerainty over a tract from the Gulf of Cambay to the Ganges-Jumna Doab and Benares. The Haihayas drove out Bāhu, a king of Ayodhyā, whose queen gave birth to a son by name Sagara in the hermitage of Aurva Bhārgava, a descendant of Paraśurāma. Aurva brought up Sagara and installed him the king of Ayodhyā after destroying the Haihayas. This tradition shows that the Haihayas had conquered up to Ayodhyā, and the famous line of Ayodhyā kings owed their rule to the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict.

IV

THE BHṚGU-HAIHAYA CONFLICT.

The testimony of the Purāṇas renders the following facts historical :

- (a) Arjuna Kārtavīrya led the Haihayas to the Narmadā and founded Māhiṣmatī near modern Broach.
- (b) He raided Āryāvarta, where lived the Pañcajanas, who, led by the Bhṛgu, worsted Arjuna, raided Anūpadeśa and destroyed Māhiṣmatī.

- (c) Paraśurāma, the chief of the Bhṛgu, settled on the banks of Narmadā and on the south sea coast upto Bombay.

Several facts have been adduced in support of the view that the Haihaya-Bhṛgu conflict took place in modern Gujarāta, and that both Gujarāta and Konkan were occupied by the Aryans.

Looking for Vedic corroboration of the conflict, we find that the R̥gveda does not refer to Arjuna. Vītahavya of the Dāśarājña appears to be Vīti-hotra or Vītahavya, the descendant of the Kārtavīryas. Vītahavya Śr̥yāyasa in the Yajurveda Samhitās has been taken to be identical with the R̥gvedic Vītahavya or his descendant. The Atharvaveda refers to a Vītahavya as connected with Jamadagni, the Bhṛgu, thus leaving no doubt as to the identity of the Puranic Haihaya with Sṛñjaya-Vītahavya which were allied tribes or one the sub-section of the other.

Puranic Jamadagni can be identified with the Vedic Ṛṣi of that name who is mentioned in the Vedic literature as a venerable person, a friend of Viśvāmitra and a rival of Vasiṣṭha. That Paraśurāma was a Jāmadagnya is undisputed. The Atharvaveda directly corroborates the fact of the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict.

The Vedic and Puranic sources establish (i) the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict (ii) the alliance of Sṛñjaya-Vītahavyas with Sudās (iii) Wars of Aikṣ-vākus, Bhṛgu, Kurus (iv) continuation of these wars after the close of the Mantra period.

The Dāśarājña war of the Āryāvarta was continued outside between Haihaya-Sṛñjaya-Vītahavya and Bhṛgu-Puru-Bharata, i.e., between Arjuna and Rāma in the Puranic language. The period between the Dāśarājña and these wars cannot extend beyond a single life-time. As a result of these wars, the Bharatas emerged successful and absorbed different tribes in their fold.

The Inner Band Aryans then spread upto Narmadā and the political conflicts between the races were replaced by a hierarchy of castes.

The synchronisms extracted from the Dāśarājña read in conjunction with the Purāṇas throw light also on the individuals with whom the Mantra period closed.

The Mānavas, Śaryātas, Bhṛgu, and Haihayas were doubtless Aryans, but they lacked the higher culture of the Tr̥tsus and Bharatas with whom they were knit by ties of kinship and religion. Linguistically, they form the Outer Band, but none the less, they are Aryans.

Arjuna's leadership of these tribes may be responsible for the homogeneity of Rajputana, Malwa and Gujarāta. All these facts prove that the races which settled on the Narmadā from the Sarasvatī were homogeneous in blood, language and culture long before the period of the R̥gveda. There is however no Vedic evidence supporting the Aryan immigration into India north of Narmadā.

V

The chronological sequence of the R̥gveda Samhitā, Atharva Veda, Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas is undisputed. The Brāhmaṇas were composed

a short time after a few generations after the cessation of the reign of Pārikṣita Janamejaya, which is an undisputed historical event after Dāśarājña.

The period between the close of the Mantra period and the composition of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa was characterised by various extraordinary changes in the language and rituals and religious outlook and social organisation.

The Purāṇas mention two Janamejaya Pārikṣitas (viz., No. 74 and 97 in Pargiter's list) whereas the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to a Janamejaya Pārikṣita who ruled at Āsandivant. The identification of Pārikṣita Janamejaya with the first Janamejaya (No. 74) in the Puranic list would lead to many curious results such as the synchronism of persons separated by 25 generations, etc. No evidence supporting the existence of two Janamejaya Pārikṣitas with identically glorious careers being found, it is certain that the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to the Janamejaya whom the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas place as the great grandson of Pāṇḍava Arjuna. The Atharva Veda and the Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas refer to Pārikṣita and his son Janamejaya. Curiously enough, no reference is found to any war between the Kurus and Pañcālas, nor to any single great figure in the Mahābhārata, nor to the great Rājasūya of Yudhiṣṭhira in the Vedic literature, which indicates that no such war took place nor were the great heroes living in fact.

If these conclusions are correct, the Mahābhārata story is purely imaginary and Janamejaya Pārikṣita's ancestry is not reliably known. The floating mass of heroic tales around Paraśurāma in connection with the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict seems to have been woven into a magnificent national epic. Many traditions in Mahābhārata betray their source which was the Dāśarājña and the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict.

If, therefore, the pedigree of the Pāṇḍavas and the details of their romantic story are kept aside, the period between the close of the Mantra period and the death of Janamejaya would be considerably narrowed.

These enquiries show that between the founding of Māhiṣmatī and the death of Janamejaya a number of historical events took place which can be summarised as follows :

The Aryans occupied a considerable part of Northern India sometime between 1500-1000 B.C. Yadus, Purus, Trtsus, Bharatas were the tribes into which the Aryans were divided. Aryans had constant wars with the Dasyus, and Divodāsa of the Trtsus, inflicted a heavy defeat on Śambara, the Dasyu King. About the same time, Arjuna Kārtavīrya, chief of the Haihaya-Tāla-jaṅghas who lived from the Punjab upto the North Gujarāta, was founding an empire defeating the Nāgas and founding Māhiṣmatī. Divodāsa was succeeded by Sudās who was advised by Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. Then a long and bitter war followed in which practically all the tribes took part. The Haihayas overran the sacred land. The Bhṛgus were butchered, their women raped, their leader Jamadagni killed, their wealth looted. All this estranged the relationship of their allies with the Haihayas. All joined against them headed by Rāma, who killed Arjuna and razed Māhiṣmatī to the ground. The war was ceaseless and protracted as the results of which the royal lines

were cut short, tribes mixed freely, new beliefs sprung up, etc. Bharatas became Kuru-Pañcālas. The aged Rāma ultimately made Śūrpāraka his capital. After the decline of his power there arose a number of Aryan kingdoms. Then came a great Cakravartin, Janamejaya Pāriksita, who performed an Aśva-medha. Meanwhile tales about the great wars associated with Rāma had collected round several places and names, and some great poet wove round Janamejaya's ancestors a great epic story creating incidents to suit the romantic theme.

This is rather a bold inference, and I would not be sorry if further examination reveals that I am mistaken. There is an urgent need of our national history being written by Indians : foreign scholars could not outgrow an underlying bias against Indians. The history of the Janapadas is ignored as also the constructive period of the later epochs, while the British period is lengthened out. Our own history must be examined and worked by us from the point of view of the development of our culture, literature, art, and our achievements. Our national history waits to be written and a nation which seeks self-determination must undertake the work.

A HARI-HARA IMAGE FROM NORTH GUJARAT

By

PROF. M. R. MAJMUDAR, M.A., LL.B.

In the city of Visnagar (originally Visalnagar) founded by Viśāldeva Chauhāṇa of Delhi, now a tālukā town in the Mehsāṇā District of the Baroda State, in North Gujarāt, is a temple of Hari-Hara with a beautiful image in black granite, which is worshipped right royally even to-day.

This image (Plate I) is designed in the *Uttama daśa tāla* measure, as required by the texts on Iconometry, and measures 4 feet 6 inches by 2 feet. The image has a *kaṭimekhalā* (a girdle); *yajñopavīta* (sacred thread) round the shoulder and *śrīvatsalāñchana* on the chest. A sort of cloth is wrapped round the middle part of the body.

The right hand part of the *mukūṭa* is of the *jaṭā-mukūṭa* type, and the left portion is of the *Kirīṭa-mukūṭa* type. The *tripuṇḍra* with a *candraka* on the forehead is crossed by *tilaka* in the middle. The *kuṇḍala* of the *rudrākṣa* bead is in the right ear, and of the general round shape in the left. The expression of the face is stately, serene and peaceful, and the pose is *sambhāṅga* or erect, like that of the Sūrya or the Viṣṇu image.

The front right hand holds a rosary (*akṣamālā*) in the *varada* (boon-giving) pose, and a trident (*triśūla*) in the back one, around which a serpent entwined (*bhujāṅga valaya*) is seen. The upper left hand holds a *cakra* and the lower one a *śaṅkha*.

On two sides of the principal image are noticeable, two figures, comparatively of a much lower size, on each side. They are said to be Bhṛṅgi and Śṛṅgi the attendants of Śiva on the right, and Jaya and Vijaya on the left.

A composition of two lotuses about the *mukūṭa* fills up the gap in the back-ground of the image. The image is for all purposes a sculpture in round, with the *piṭhikā* allowed to remain in tact.

The description exactly tallies with the text on Iconography for the identification of a Hari-Hara image. According to the Matsya purāṇa the description of Hari-Hara is as under :

वामार्धे माधवं कुर्याद् दक्षिणे शूलपाणिनम् ।

शंखं चक्रधरं शान्तमारक्तगुलिविभ्रमम् ॥

दक्षिणार्धे जटाभारमधेन्दु-कृत-लक्षणम् ।

भुजंगहारवल्यं वरदं दक्षिणं करम् ॥

द्वितीयं चापि कुर्वीत त्रिशूलवरधारिणम् ॥

In Hemādri's "Caturvarga cīntāmaṇi" the two vehicles of Śiva and

Viṣṇu are, however, mentioned to be depicted in the Hari-Hara image—the Nandi to be on the right side and the Garuḍa on the left.

दक्षिणे वृषभः पार्श्वे वामे विहंगराडिति ।

The text of the Rūpamaṇḍana,¹ differing only in expression has the same import. In the chapter describing images of Śiva, that of Hari-Hara has been (Adh. IV verses 30, 31.) mentioned.

The Mānasollāsa or the Abhilaṣitārtha cintāmaṇi (Samvat 1024) does not mention any of the Vāhanas for the image of Hari-Hara. The text is rather elaborate :—

देवं हरिहरं वक्ष्ये सर्वपातकनाशनम् ॥
 दक्षिणे शंकरस्यार्धमर्धं विष्णोश्च वामतः ।
 बालेन्दुभूषितः कार्यो जटाभारस्तु दक्षिणे ॥
 नानारत्नमयं दिव्यं किरीटं वामभागतः ।
 दक्षिणं सर्पराजेन भूषितं कर्णमालिखेत् ॥
 मकराकारकं दिव्यं कुण्डलं वामकर्णतः ।
 वरदो दक्षिणो हस्तो द्वितीयः शूलभृत्तथा ॥
 कर्तव्यो वामभागे तु शंखचक्रधरौ करौ ।
 दक्षिणं वसनं कार्यं द्वीपिचर्ममयं शुभम् ॥
 पीतांबरमयं भव्यं जघनं सव्यमालिखेत् ।
 वामः पादः प्रकर्तव्यो नानारत्नविभूषितः ॥
 दक्षिणान्त्रि प्रकर्तव्यो भुजगेन्द्रेण वेष्टितः ।
 सुधांशुधवलः कार्यः शिवभागो विचक्षणैः ॥
 अतसीपुष्पसंकाशो विष्णुभागो विरच्यते । ७४६-७५२

The Kṛṣṇa-Śaṅkara form mentioned in the Rūpāvatāra.

A similar composite form of Kṛṣṇa and Śaṅkara is mentioned in another text by Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana :

कृष्णशंकरयोर्वक्ष्ये कृष्णार्धेन तु संयुतम् ।
 कृष्णार्धे मुकुटं कुर्याज्जटाभारं च दक्षिणे ॥
 कुण्डलं दक्षिणे भागे वामे मकरकुण्डलम् ।
 अक्षमाला त्रिशूलं च चक्रं वै शंखमेव च ॥

—रूपमण्डने

Excepting the mention of the different vāhanas of the two gods—Nandi and Garuḍa—the description is quite identical with that of the Hari-Hara image. On the strength of this text from Rūpāvatāra, I am tempted to identify the Visnagar-image as that of Kṛṣṇa-Śaṅkara, and not of Hari-Hara.

1. कार्यः हरिहरस्यापि दक्षिणार्धे शिवः सदा ।
 हृषीकेशश्च वामार्धे श्वेतनीलाकृतीः क्रमात् ॥
 वरं त्रिशूल चक्राब्जधारिणौ बाहुषु क्रमात् ।
 दक्षिणे वृषभः पार्श्वे वामे विहंगराडिति ॥

—रूपमण्डने

The author of the Rūpamaṇḍana has noticed thirty-two varieties of Kṛṣṇa-Śaṅkara arrived at by all possible permutations;² but he does not enumerate them for fear of increasing the bulk of his book. He refers us therefore to the text of Dipārnava. In the published text of the Rūpamaṇḍana (Calcutta Sanskrit series No. XI, 1936, page 104) the reading is 'दियार्णव' which is unintelligible; hence a query is put by the editor. The above text is quoted however from a fairly correct ms. in the Oriental Institute Collection, Baroda. The work of Maṇḍana is remarkable among other peculiarities for the mention of several varieties of common forms of images, such as Viṣṇu, Gaurī, Sarasvatī, Harī, Hara etc.

The newly discovered image of Hari-Hara in sand-stone, from Soppārā (Plate II) is a very beautiful piece of Brāhmanical sculpture from Western India, on the borderland of Southern Gujarāt.³ Even though all the four hands are mutilated, the composite form of the *jaṭā-mukuṣa* and the *kiriṭa mukuṣa*, the emaciated figure of Bhṛṅgi and the broken portion of Śiva-vāhana Nandi on the right side and the portion of the *ruṇḍa-mālā* (a garland of skulls) on the same side, affords ample materials for the identification of the image. It seems to be a product of the best period of Mediæval Indian Sculpture.

It is interesting to refer here to a form of Hari-Hara from South India for comparison. The basis of quarrel between the two Hindu sects—Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas regarding the nature of God Veṅkaṭeśa at the temple on the top of Tīrupati Hill in South India, appears to be due to the duplicate nature of the image itself, which is described by one of the early Śrīvaiṣṇava saints as Hari-Hara. In the days of Rāmānuja, the Śaivas threatened to take possession of it and Rāmānuja succeeded in retaining it for the Vaiṣṇavas.⁴

The image of Veṅkaṭeśa is even to this day that of Hari-Hara, the right half as usual, being that of Hara i.e. Śiva, and the left-half of Hari i.e. Viṣṇu. On the right forearm is to be seen the *bhujāṅga-valaya* or the bangle of Snake—an ornament characteristic of Śiva. Veṅkaṭeśa is a standing figure with four hands, the back two of which carry the *śaṅkha* and *Cakra*, the other right hand is held in *abhaya-mudrā* and the remaining left hand is made to rest upon the hip.

2. कृष्णशंकरसंयोगात् द्वात्रिंशद्भेदमूर्तयः ।

नोदिता ग्रंथबाहुल्यात् ह्येयादीपार्णवाद् बुधैः ॥

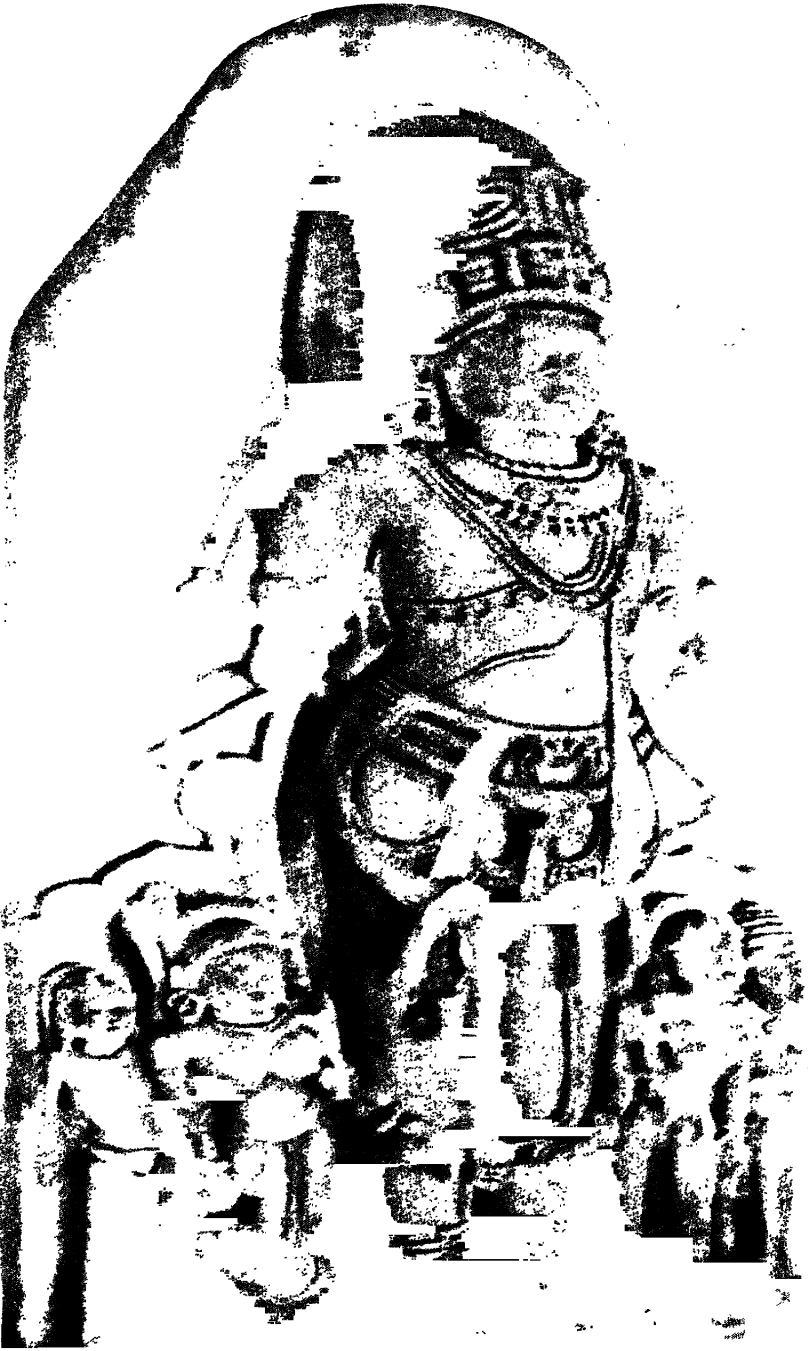
3 Vide the paper by Sjt. R. Gyani, M.A., Asst. Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Arch. Sec. Bombay on "Antiquities of Soppārā" in "Suvāsa" monthly (Gujarāti) for March 1939; through whose courtesy this photograph of the image is reproduced here.

4. T. A. Gopināth Rāo : "Elements of Hindu Iconography" Vol. I, Part 1, pp. 270-71.

PLATE I.



HARI-HAKA
From Visnagar, North Gujarat.



HARI-HARA from Soppāra.

* Gujarāt in spite of its being the resort of several Śaivite sects like that of the famous Lakuliśa Sampradāya, has a decided lean-
 Vaiṣṇavite tendencies in Gujarāt. ing towards popular Vaiṣṇavism as it claims to have long-honoured traditions of being Śrī Kṛṣṇa's resort in the latter part of His life. Even the Śakti-worship prevalent in the land is of the *dakṣiṇa-mārga* of the love of the sweet Mother and the Protector of the world.

Hence several sects have arisen in this province, which show in a way a fusion of the tenets of various rival sects, evincing an
 Growth of neo-Vaiṣṇavite sects. honourable compromise among their devotees. The conception of Hari-Hara is such a form, which has the qualities of pleasing both the Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites.

The idea has found its way even in Mediaeval Gujarātī poetry.⁵ It is said in a *garabi* (a song sung in accompaniment of the
 Literary reference. claps of the hand) as under :—

“Tell the world that Hari and Hara are one, Both are one in form : There is no difference.”

Hence it is that a composite worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva with the help of
 Composite images conceived as Hari-Hara, Śiva-Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa-Śaṅkara and Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha (Dattātreyā) has come into existence. It is, however, remarkable that the description of these images forms a section of the chapter on Śiva images, in the text on Hindu Iconography ; in spite of this fact, the preponderance of Viṣṇu is observed in the compounds Hari-Hara and Kṛṣṇa-Śaṅkara, where the word Viṣṇu forms the first member of the compound.

Even though the Hari-Hara image at Visnagar is dressed like Viṣṇu for
 The Śaivite Image. *darśana* to the devotees, and is popularly known as one of the Viṣṇu's composite forms, the disability however attaches to the *darśana* of this image by women-folk, when it is without any of the dress-paraphernalia ; evidently a ban which clings to the Śaivite notion of the *liṅga*. I was told of this by the old mother of the pujāri, who said that she never had a *darśana* of God Hari-Hara while he was undressed ! Hence it was with the greatest entreaties that she permitted her son, over fifty to divest the image of dress etc. for photography.⁶ On my having assured her about the god's having been dressed with an *uttariya* in the actual sculpture, she with the greatest avidity feasted her eyes upon the *darśana* of the god for the first time during her long life !

Such is the interesting image of Hari-Hara or better still of Kṛṣṇa-Hari-Hara or Śaṅkara from North Gujarāt.
 Kṛṣṇa-Śaṅkara.

5. “जगत्ने कहेजो रे, के हरि-हर एक ज छे:

ए बे एक स्वरूपे रे, के अंतर नव गणशो. ”

6. My thanks are due to Mr. Natvarlāl Vrijalāl Mahārājā, Mahiwādā, Visnagar a Visalnagarā Nāgar Brāhmin by caste, the pujāri in charge of the image, for the convenience given to me for taking the photograph.

HOMAGE TO MAHATMA GANDHI

The opening stanza of the *Īsopanishad* runs :

ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किञ्च जगत्यां जगत् ।
तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा मा गृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम् ॥

“Whatever moves in this moving world is enveloped by God. Find thy enjoyment, therefore, in renunciation ; do not covet what belongs to others.” In other words, we are enjoined to live a life which is God-centred, which delights in spontaneous self-dedication to humanity, which, therefore, shrinks from hankering after small ends. Is it possible to live such a life in the troubled twentieth-century world? A complete, affirmative answer to this query is given by the life and work of the one whom, on completing today three score years and ten, the leading thinkers of the world have honoured through presenting a commemoration volume, and whom millions of submerged humanity have wished many happy returns of the day through silent prayers.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S life is a flaming example to those who would accept *Abhaya* and *Ahimsā*, *Maitrī* and *Karūṇā*, as the guiding principle of every department of their private and public life. He stands for a definite way of life, in which there is, or should be, no disturbing of the harmony between personal desires and social demands ; the personal element must seek its fulfilment by merging itself into the universal aim. His is a call to discard all double-mindedness ; a summons to subject oneself to the spirit of self-control, simplicity and service ; above all, an inspiration to lead one's life by a living faith in God. It is not *mokṣa*, or *nirvāṇa*, or “kingdom of Heaven” for himself that is GANDHIJI'S aim or ideal. “My creed”, says he, “is service of God and therefore of humanity...and service is pure love.” To quote him further, “I recognise no God except the God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions. They do not recognize His presence ; I do. And I worship the God that is Truth, or Truth which is God, through the service of these millions.” His everyday morning prayer therefore includes the stanza :

न त्वहं कामये राज्यं न स्वर्गं नापुनर्भवम् ।
कामये दुःखतप्तानां प्राणिनामार्तिनाशनम् ॥

“I do not desire kingdom, nor heaven, nor release from rebirth : I only desire the cessation of grief of all sorrow-stricken beings.” Which reminds us of Buddha who, according to Mahāyāna Buddhism, whilst standing at the gate of *nirvāṇa*, undertook the vow never to make the irrevocable crossing so long as there remained even a single unredeemed being on earth.

At this moment of expressing our gratitude to the MAHATMA, and of offering our prayers to God, it is hardly possible or necessary to recount

GANDHIJI's immense contribution towards redemption of humanity and spreading of goodwill among mankind. As we express our inmost wish on this occasion in the words of a Vedic poet, "*May he live hundred years!*" what Buddha said to Ānanda comes to our mind : "...not by all this, O Ānanda, is the Teacher honoured but the disciple who shall fulfil all the greater and lesser duties—by him is the Teacher honoured."

October 2, 1939.

M. P.

REVIEWS

Rgveda-Samhitā with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya. Published under the auspices of the Tilak Maharashtra University Vaidic Samshodhana Mandal (Vedic Research Institute), Vol. I : Maṇḍala I edited by Principal RAJWADE and others ; Vol. II : Maṇḍalas II-V edited by Shri N. K. SONTAKKE and others ; Poona (2), 1933-36 ; Price Rs. 12 per volume. .

The credit of editing for the first time the complete Sāyaṇa-*Bhāṣya* on the R̥gveda goes, as is well-known, to Max Müller. His six-volumed first edition was published in London between the years 1849 and 1874. A second edition of the same in four volumes, in the preparation of which Max Müller was greatly assisted by Brunnhofer and Winternitz, appeared during the years 1890-92. More than forty years have since elapsed and students of the Vedas know it only too well how difficult and costly it is to get a set of *The Hymns of the R̥gveda with Sāyaṇa's Commentary*, as the second edition was entitled.

Whereas, therefore, even a mere reprint of the Sāyaṇa-*Bhāṣya* on R̥gveda would have been welcome, a new edition, such as the work under review, critically and carefully prepared in the light of the additional manuscript-material since discovered, is sure to evoke sincere appreciation and gratefulness on the part of all lovers of Vedic literature.

A study of the two volumes (so far published) enables us to testify to the scholarly care and devotion and discernment which the Editors have brought to bear on their arduous task of editing the text of Sāyaṇa's Commentary from a mass of MSS. procured from various parts of India and also from abroad, in Devanāgarī, Grantha and Malyalam characters. The oldest MS. obtained by the Editors is 450 years old and "it belongs to the Devanāgarī group ; but unfortunately it contains only one Aṣṭaka, namely, the fourth."

In adoption of the readings, the Editors claim that they have thoroughly considered both the relative authenticity and the mutual support of all the MSS. Those who will ever be called upon to deal with the variant readings of the Commentary will find that this claim is, on the whole, quite justified. In the matter of tracing out Sāyaṇa's references, however, further research is required. For example, in the very first line of the prose text (p. 1) it should be mentioned that *abhyarhitam pūrvam* is quoted from *Kātyāyana* under Pāṇ. II, 2, 34 ; on page 2, ll. 2-3 *tad etad ṛcābhyuktam* should be shown as a citation from Gop. Br. I, 1, 9 ; etc. ; on the same page 1. 24, Kauś. Br. XXIII, 2 should be mentioned after *kasmīṅś cid brāhmaṇe*.

On the importance of Sāyaṇa's Commentary as an aid to the understanding and interpretation of the R̥gveda, we have already dwelt elsewhere in this number (*vide* pp. 20, 25). Suffice it to stress here that notwithstanding the progress of the study of the R̥gveda along the modern critical and scien-

tific lines, the usefulness of Sāyaṇa-Bhāṣya still remains undiminished. All admirers of Indology will, therefore, heartily welcome this worthy venture of a band of devoted Vedic scholars of the Tilak Maharashtra University. Whilst congratulating the Editors upon the success achieved by them so far in this noble undertaking, we assure them that the remaining volumes of the Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā with Sāyaṇa's Commentary are keenly awaited.

MANILAL PATEL.

Rabindranath Tagore, By PROF. V. LESNY. Translated by Guy Mackeever Phillips. Foreword by C. F. Andrews. (Allen and Unwin. 8s. 6d.)

It was a fortunate idea which inspired Professor Lesny to write this fine book. It is a fascinating study of Tagore's personality and work, wise, generous, lucid and compact. Professor Lesny has had the unique advantage of coming into contact with Tagore during his stay at Santiniketan. Here he made a study of Bengali language which enabled him to understand and to appreciate original writings of Tagore. Throughout the book the author reveals an intimate knowledge of the whole atmosphere of Tagore's plays and poems. Love and admiration for Rabindranath Tagore is seen everywhere, but this is considerably balanced by critical appreciation and objective evaluation. To pay homage to one of the foremost literary figures in the world is a 'grateful task' to Dr. Lesny. However, he never falls into rhapsodic eulogy of Tagore's work. He has the subtle eye to distinguish the high and the noble from the average, the permanent from the momentary. He takes a full and comprehensive account of Tagore's life and work and has tried to understand the vast range of the poet's genius and to present his many-sided personality.

The author begins with the social and spiritual background of the early days of the poet. The Tagore family had been immensely influenced by the strong wave of the religious reformation that swept over the North and the East India in early nineteenth century. Rammohan Ray, Dwarkanath Tagore, Debendranath Tagore, Keśabchandra Sen, Dayanand Saraswati, Ramkrishna and Vivekanand carried frontal attacks on certain decadent aspects of the orthodox Hinduism, and brought about the renaissance of Hindu life and thought. Against this background we see the lonely child in complete disharmony with the traditional methods of learning and habits of thought. The young Tagore revolted against the stonewalls of school which killed the potentialities of the child. This was a sheer torture to him and eventually he preferred to fall back upon Nature, 'the mighty world of eye and ear', as his Guru. Dr. Lesny carefully follows the poetic evolution and the growth of the poet's personality, showing each stage of development, with due emphasis on the contributory factors. He finds exuberance of language in the

early Tagore just as in the early Shakespeare. Then comes the deeper understanding of life which enriches poet's sensibility. Thought and expression, as in the mature tragedies of Shakespeare, seem to have been perfectly united. Dr. Lesny shows keen critical perception while he speaks of Tagore's incomparable lyricism, strange magic of his exquisite poetry, beauty of its rhythm and diction. References to well-known Czech poets such as Wolker, Brezina, Viktor Dyk make an interesting comparative study.

To those who hold an opinion that Tagore lives and writes in a tower, that in his poetry there is so much beautiful crooning or deliquescent sentimentality or romantic vagueness of thought so familiar in Eastern literatures, this study will doubtlessly furnish a desired corrective. One is surprised to hear the loose talk about Tagore's "exotic pseudo-philosophic poems with their pomegranate and lotus-bud imagery which goes down so well with bored Knightsbridge matrons" or of Tagore's 'crescent-moon idealism.' But Tagore is intensely interested in man and is not unaware of the implications of his age. He has condemned in no uncertain terms the disintegrating forces of our Machine Age. The major problems which affect our complex life and which have demanded poetic resolution, all the world over, have not escaped his sensibility. Modern civilisation has been laughed at as a huge scandal. It has shown an amazing disparity between positive achievement and negative use. In conquest of nature and in its exploitation man has shown remarkable energy which even the gods might envy, but in making use of his achievements he has shown an imbecility of an idiot. In this Brave New World man as a political animal, Bernard Shaw has recently declared a failure. The mad race for political and economic cannibalism and the narrow aggressive nationalism which begets cruelty and despotism and ends in monstrous militarism—which has just inflamed Europe into a theatre of terrible carnage and suffering—have been condemned by Tagore. He has shown great interest in various post-War social and political experiments. He has expressed his joy at the liquidation of mass illiteracy in the U.S.S.R. Like Plato, Tagore believes in the enlightened rule of a philosopher-king. It is Buddha, he says, who conquered the world, not Alexander. Nationalism is a good thing if only it evolves into internationalism. Nations must be linked with the ties of equity and justice. Dignity of human personality and the liberty of conscience are the primary conditions of civilisation. Social and political emancipation is necessary, but the real freedom springs from within. Animal perfection is the lower function of life. Man is destined to rise to the higher spiritual plane to achieve inner integration. This alone will restore the lost harmony and happiness.

Tagore does not, like a Medievalist reactionary, denounce the progress of science. Western civilisation which is largely its manifestation has much good to offer and to be preserved. He advocates a synthesis between East and West. But the violent energy of the West should be harnessed to the wisdom of the East. Tagore has warned us that humanization of mankind will never be achieved by violence.

The process of his development, Professor Lesny rightly remarks, is in harmony with the tradition of Indian philosophy : from the intuition of the beauty of nature to the exalted conception of man's destiny. Dr. Lesny looks upon Tagore as a revealer of new paths, a teacher of men, a great leader of thought. He passionately dreams of a better, enlightened humanity. His art is universal in its appeal. All through his life he has worked for a closer understanding between East and West.

Dinbandhu C. F. Andrews has written a gracious foreword to this really good book.

BALWANT BHATT.

Gujarāta-nī Asmitā. By SHRI KANAIIYALAL MUNSHI, published by Shri Manahararam Mehta and others,—Secretaries, Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, Bombay (1939), Price 0-4-0, [In Gujarati].

In this small volume are collected only a few selected speeches on Gujarāta, which their versatile author, the Hon'ble Mr. K. M. Munshi delivered on various occasions. The size of the volume, however, is in no way a measure of the attention and interest it is bound to arouse for containing, as it does, much stimulating and thought-provoking material. The appearance of these essays in book-form is due to a welcome occasion of the completion of the 50th year of Shri Munshi's life, which occasion the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad at its Karachi session resolved to commemorate in an appropriate manner. In consideration, however, of Munshiji's desire that he would not like any public celebration of his birthday, the Central Council of the Parishad decided to publish the present selection from his speeches which have admittedly contributed a great deal towards awakening self-consciousness in modern Gujarāta. A happy and well-advised decision, indeed.

The volume opens with an introductory essay, which is a masterly analysis of the mind and motives of Shri Munshi. The author of this essay has remained anonymous for reasons best known to himself. Whilst congratulating him for this penetrating and persuasive interpretation of the multi-sided genius of Munshiji, we wish he would present his readers, (perhaps in the second edition) a synthetic pen-picture of the life-story of this eminent *littérateur* of Gujarāta, executed with the same rare artistic skill as displayed herein.

The speeches themselves have been arranged under six headings, such as, Gujarāta as a cultural entity ; Change of Values ; in Search of the Realization of the Dream ; Gujarāta : old and new ; Unity of Gujarāta ; Hemacandrācārya—the First Seer of the Self-consciousness of Gujarāta. This arrangement enables us conveniently to know what Munshiji—himself one of the makers of the Modern Gujarāta—has to say on the various aspects of his favourite subject, namely, Self-consciousness of Gujarāta. Munshiji's views

are here expressed in a style which is vivid, lively, direct, pungent, packed with close reasoning and incisive comments : expressive, in short, of the author's own personality.

Munshiji's love for Gujarāta is immense. He has been ceaselessly striving to enrich the life and letters in Gujarāta not only through his literary art and scholarship but also through his educational and cultural activities. This booklet containing his speeches will therefore be perused with benefit by all those who are interested in the creative trends of life and thought in modern Gujarāta. It should be studied, and its teachings assimilated, particularly by the younger generation so that a fresh energy might be infused in their spirit of service to their motherland. For, the ideal that Munshiji places before Gujarāta is neither parochial nor provincial : he has often urged that Gujarāta's hope and justification for existence lie only in its realization of self-fulfilment by merging itself into the greater unity of Āryāvarta.

In honouring Munshiji through the publication of this precious little volume, the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad has, we believe, honoured itself.

MANILAL PATEL.

Pramāṇa-Mīmāṃsā of Hemacandra. Editor, PANDIT SUKHLALJI, assisted by PANDIT MAHENDRAKUMARJI and PANDIT DALSUKHBHAI. (Singhi Jain Granthamala. Price Rs. 5.).

This is the ninth volume of the well-known Singhi Jain Series of which Muni Shri Jinavijayaji is the General Editor.

Pramāṇa mīmāṃsā, like Dingnāga's Nyāya Praveśa, Siddhasena's Nyāyavatāra and Dharmakīrti's Nyāyabindu, is highly serviceable to a student of philosophy. The original work is in the Sūtra form like Akṣapāda's Nyāya-sūtra. The present edition contains two chapters, the first of which has got two sections and the second, only one. It is generally accepted on the authority of the Ācārya's own word पञ्चभिरध्यायैः शास्त्रमेतद्वचयदाचार्यः that it contained five chapters. Therefore the rest, it is believed, has succumbed to the ravages of time.

The Sūtras and the Vṛtti have been printed in different types, supplemented wherever possible with the gloss of older students and associated with Variants, a glance at which convinces the reader of the Editor's fine judgment and sound scholarship. The Sūtras and the Vṛtti occupy 74 pages while the editor requires nearly 210 pages to acquaint us with his deep study and firm grasp of the subject.

The Editor has written his notes, prefatory statement, appendices etc. in Hindi so as to make it as widely known in India as possible. In his notes he has tried his best to elucidate the Ācārya's Sūtras and has tried to show, indeed with marvellous success, to what older sources and traditions

Ācārya's creation was indebted. Logical acumen, critical precision, balanced exposition and the penetrating knowledge of the history of Pramāṇa śāstra, all these as revealed in his Notes etc. fairly and rightly enable us to conclude that Panditji (Editor) sometimes surpasses even the Ācārya.

The Editor has added seven appendices to the work, which form a most welcome addition. He has brought all his genius and intellect to bear upon these. Every line unfolds a wealth of information, until now unknown to us. He has spared no pains to introduce the reader to the hidden treasures of Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsā, every line of which is deeply laden with a volume of meaning. Panditji's analytic intellect assumes a synthetic form and reaches a stage beyond which none has gone so far. In short, suffice it to say, Panditji's versatile genius reaches a pink of perfection in these appendices.

In his preface, the Editor tries to establish the efficacy and the supremacy of Anekāntavāda by weighing the pros and cons of Ārambhavāda, Pariṇāmavāda, Pratityasamutpādevāda and Vivartavāda. While he thus analyses all the schools, he reminds us of Nāgārjuna—the famous Buddhist dialectician.

In bringing out this edition, the editor has consulted and made use of as many as 150 works. Shri R. C. Parikh's brief sketch of the Life of the Ācārya adds to the usefulness of the book. Exhaustive indices supply the reader with enormous facility. Mahamahopadhyaya Pramathanath Tarkabhūṣana's foreword shows the outstanding merit of the edition.

In consideration of all these excellences and its fine get-up and good printing, the price is quite moderate.

We offer our heartfelt thanks to the Founder and the General Editor of the Series and to the Editor of the work under review for bringing out such a valuable publication, which fills a long-felt want.

AMRITLAL S. GOPANI.

The Religion of Good Life : Zoroastrianism. By R. P. MASANI, M.A., with a Foreword by the Rev. Dr. JOHN MCKENZIE, M.A., George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London (1938).

This little book by one of the most prominent Parsis of today, Shri R. P. Masani (present Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay), is welcome as a careful, precise and comprehensive statement on the Religion of Zarathushtra. We have, before now, seen almost all the books published on Zoroastrianism in English, French and German, but in point of clarity and concise treatment, we believe, none is so refreshing as the one under review. The attitude of a devout Parsi towards his own religion is presented here winsomely and constructively.

The book is divided in two parts. The first part deals with the historical background of Zoroastrianism, the rise of the Prophet Zarathushtra,

how he repudiated "false gods," the Prophet's conception of Ahura Mazda "wise Lord" and of the Seven Immortals, the Cult of Fire, Cosmology and Eschatology, the problem of Good and Evil, the final dispensation, and the Zoroastrian Code of Ethics and Worship. The second part of the book is devoted to the description of ritual which includes ceremonies of socio-religious and liturgical character, as also those of purification, initiation and consecration.

To the students of Comparative Religion this book will surely appeal as a reliable addition to their apparatus; to the Parsis it will of course be a convincing guide to their own religious life and thought. We, therefore, cordially recommend it not only to the author's co-religionists but also to those who would like to understand the Parsi point of view on matters spiritual and religious.

MANILAL PATEL.

Chandoracanā. By PROF. DR. M. T. PATWARDHAN, M.A., D. LITT. (Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay; 1937; Crown Oct., pp. 27 + 598. Price Rupees Four.) [in Marathi]

This work secured for Dr. Patwardhan the D. Litt. degree of the University of Bombay last year. Well known to Marathi readers as "Madhav Julian", a poet and prophet of Modernism handling various metres and introducing a large number of new metres in Marathi poetry, Dr. Patwardhan was eminently fitted for the stupendous, systematic and original work undertaken by him. The author combines in him the poet and the critic and his first-hand knowledge of literary morphology has enhanced the value of the book. Not only have the poetic compositions and works on Metrics and Prosody in Marathi been subjected to a thorough examination, but those in Sanskrit and Prakrit are also considered.

Vṛttas, Jātis and Chandas are the divisions of Metre according to the author. The extent of Dr. Patwardhan's study would be evident even from the large number of individual metres (many of them newly discovered and introduced) included in each class, viz. 990 Vṛttas, 260 Jātis and 53 Chandas. Dr. Patwardhan's speciality and originality lie in rejecting the time-honoured system of classifying metres according to the number of syllables in each line and basing his classification on the nature of the rhythm and the internal rhythmic structure of the line. A distinct name has been found for each metre and each specimen has been exemplified by appropriate illustrations, Dr. Patwardhan himself composing as many as 260 new stanzas to supply illustrations.

Chapter VIII deals with a brief history of the Chandahśāstra, tracing its growth from the earliest times to the present day, which will interest Sanskritists. The material will serve as a nucleus and groundwork to a future historian of Sanskrit Prosody for further and detailed study.

We heartily congratulate Dr. Patwardhan for his excellent and valuable

contribution to Marathi literature, and endorse the opinion of some reviewers in Marathi in styling him as the modern Pingala. The importance of the new material presented in the work deserves wider publicity which it would receive if an English rendering were published, so that non-Marathi readers would benefit by Dr. Patwardhan's researches. We suggest that the author may publish at an early date at least a detailed synopsis of the book in English.

The University of Bombay deserves to be congratulated for the substantial financial help granted by it towards the cost of publication of the book. The get-up and printing leave nothing to be desired and are up to the reputation of the Karnatak Publishing House. The book deserves to be at the desk of every research scholar—at least in Mahārāṣṭra, and we strongly recommend every library worth the name to have a copy of this priceless book.

A. D. PUSALKER.

Sanmati Tarka of SIDDHASENA DIVĀKARA ; Edited with a critical Introduction and an original Commentary by PANDITA SUKHALALJI SANGHAVI and PANDITA BECHARDASJI DOSHI ; translated into English from Gujarati by Prof. R. B. Athavle, M. A., and Prof. A. S. Goapni, M.A. ; published by the Hon. Secretaries, Shri Jain Shwetamber Education Board, Bombay (1939) ; price Re. 1.

Siddhasena Divākara is one of those Jaina thinkers who gave shape to Jaina philosophy and raised it to the level of an independent system. He wrote a learned treatise in Prakrit, entitled *Sanmati Tarka*, which the well-known Jaina Pandits, Sukhalalji Sanghavi and Bechardasji Doshi, have already brought out with Abhayadevasuri's extensive Sanskrit commentary thereon (*Gūjarāta Purātattva Mandira Granthāvali*, Vols. X, XVI, XVIII, XIX, and XXI). The two Pandit-friends have also written a separate book called *Sanmati Prakaraṇa* (published in *Punjabhāi Jaina Granthamālā*, Vol. VI) which contains a learned introduction in Gujarati (115 pages) and the Prakrit Gāthās forming the text of original *Sanmati Tarka* ; to this is further added by the Pandits their own Gujarati Commentary named *Bhāvodghāṭana*, which is brief but beautifully clear and comprehensible.

The book under notice is an English rendering of the two Pandits' Gujarati *Sanmati Prakaraṇa*. The translators, Professors Athavle and Gopani undertook a really difficult, because technical, task of translating so abstruse a philosophical treatise as the *Sanmati Prakaraṇa*. But, we are glad to note, they have, on the whole, prepared a very clear and careful translation of the original, and whilst doing so, have shown a firm grasp on the concepts and categories of the Jaina thought. Students of Indian Philosophy will therefore feel thankful not only to the original authors but also to the translators of this important work.

MANILAL PATEL.

NOTES OF THE BHAVAN

[In this section a connected account of the activities of the various Departments of the BHAVAN will be given in each issue of the JOURNAL.—Ed.]

FIRST SESSION (November 1938 to March 1939).

The BHAVAN was founded in Bombay on Kārttika Pūrnimā of Vikrama Samvat 1995 (November 7, 1938). Its objects have been set forth in detail in its *Memorandum of Association*. Briefly put, they are (i) to carry on systematic research in Indology in all its branches ; (ii) to make adequate provision for the study and teaching of, and research into, languages of ancient and modern India, particularly, Sanskrit, Pali, Ardha-magadhi, Apabhramsha, Rajasthani, old and modern Gujarati, Hindi, and other allied languages ; (iii) to conduct and undertake on approved conditions the management and/or the supervision of such Pathashalas and other Departments as impart knowledge of the said ancient languages of India according to the traditional methods of *shastric* learning ; (iv) to undertake systematic study and publication of Indian history and culture ; (v) to enrich the Gujarati, Hindi and other modern Indian literatures by publishing translations of important texts of ancient literature of India as well as by publishing independent and original works ; (vi) to establish a well-equipped library of Indology and a Reading Room ; (vii) to issue books, journals and periodicals in English, Gujarati, Hindi and other allied modern Indian Languages.

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As we have mentioned in “Introducing Ourselves”, the foundation ceremony of the BHAVAN coincided with a meeting held in memory of Shri Hemacandrācārya. The Hon'ble Mr. K. M. Munshi, President, BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, presided over the meeting and the following paragraphs from his presidential address may be reproduced here as they clearly define the aims of the BHAVAN.

“ It is in the fitness of things that when we are reviving the memory of Hemacandrācārya, we should be, at the same time, opening ‘Shri Munglal Goenka Institute of Higher Sanskritic Studies’ and founding the BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN. For many years it had been the dream of the SAHITYA SANSAD to crystallize its work into a centre in which the ancient learning and modern intellectual aspirations of this land may combine to create a new literature, a new history and a new culture. The spontaneous generosity of Seth Munglal Goenka and the co-operation of several Trusts have enabled the SANSAD to take this effective step towards the realization of this dream. Shri Munglal Institute has been able to secure the services of such eminent scholars as Muni Jinavijayaji for Prakritic Languages ; Dr. Manilal Patel, late of Santiniketan, for Sanskrit and Philology ; as also the association of Prof. Bhanushanker Vyas and Shri Ambalal B. Jani for old and Modern Gujarati. And arrangements are also being made for Hindi.

But Sheth Munglal's donation has been a lucky penny ; it has brought others in its wake. The trustees of several trusts and men like Sir Jadunath Sarkar and

others, the moving spirits of the Bharatiya Itihasa Parishad of Benares, have all come together to found the BHAVAN. The BHAVAN will be an association which will organize active centres where ancient Aryan learning is studied and where modern Indian culture is provided with a historical back-ground.

But the resources at our disposal are inadequate to secure the objects in view. At present in addition to Shri Munglal Institute the BHAVAN is likely to have a Pāṭhashālā, a magazine of Indology in English, Gujarati and Hindi styled *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, and several publications. Perhaps more than one Pāṭhashālā in the City may come in. But the BHAVAN would require a building to house its activities, a library and a hostel. And more than that it would be necessary to have a Chair in Bhagavata-Dharma (Vaishnavism in all its forms); a Chair in Gujarati Literature, which could suitably be named after Hemacandrācārya; and a Chair in Indian History. It is time a National History of India came to be written; and I have no doubt that if the Itihasa Parishad co-operates with us, the BHAVAN will be able to achieve this object.

But today these are hopes. The SAHITYA SANSAD came into existence in 1922 for developing culture; in 1926 without destroying its entity, it merged in All-Gujarata activities of the Sahitya Parishad. Today, 12 years later, it hopes to take a stride forward towards an All-India effort; Gujarata can have no hope and no justification except in so far as it achieves self-fulfilment by merging itself in the greater unity of Āryāvarta. And in founding the BHAVAN you are moving towards the destined goal; and with all my hearts I say, in the words of Kaṇva, 'May your path be blissful'."

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The list of the Founder-Members of the BHAVAN is given in Appx. (i). The first meeting of the Founder-Members was held on November 7, 1938. They appointed the first Executive Committee for two years (from November 1938 to October 1940), the names of which are given on page 3 of the cover.

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Some trusts of Bombay, namely, Mumbadevi Temple Trust, Seth Gordhandas Soonderdas Charities, Sheth Narandas Asanmal and Jethanand Asanmal Trust, Rughnathdas Gopaldas Trust, and Gujarati Sahitya Parishad responded generously to the appeal made by our President for financial support towards founding various Chairs and Departments in the BHAVAN. Moreover, Shri Rameshwardas Birla, His Holiness the Acharya Maharaj Shri Anandprasadji Shri Shripatprasadji Maharaj of Sansthan Vadtal, Sir Kikabhai Premchand, Shri Pranlal Devkaran Nanjee, H. H. the Maharaja of Porbunder, H. H. the Thakore Salib of Limbdi, Shri Madhavalal Makanji Bhatt, Sheth Motilal Maneckchand *alias* Pratap Sheth, Shri Prabhashankar R. Bhatt, Shri Chunilal Bhaichand Mehta, Sheth Hargovindas Jeevandas and others came forward with offers of liberal grants or donations.

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The BHAVAN started its work with the Departments of (i) Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in charge of Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph. D. (Marburg); (ii) Prakritic Languages in charge of Muni Shri Jinavijayaji; and (iii) Gujarati in charge of Prof. Bhanushanker Vyas, M.A., and Shri Ambalal B. Jani, B.A. The Department of Hindi was soon added and Shri Ramashray

Roy, M.A., LL.B., was appointed Honorary Lecturer in that subject. Thanks to the generous grant of Sheth Rameshwardasji Birla, the BHAVAN could open a Department of Indian History on 1st December 1938, with Pandit Jayachandra Vidyalankar as Professor. On the 1st January 1939 a new Department of Bhagavata Dharma was added under the honorary professorship of Shri Durgashanker Shastri, and Miss Sushila Mehta, M.A., LL.B., was offered a research fellowship in that Department. For this Department the Trustees of Seth Gordhandas Soonderdas Charities have donated a handsome annual grant. All these Departments and the Office of the BHAVAN, were housed in the Khalsa College Buildings, Matunga.

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From the 7th January 1939, the BHAVAN started a series of *Extension Lectures on Indian Culture*. The Lectures were open to general public and delivered in the afternoon of every Saturday in the University Buildings. The series was inaugurated by the Hon'ble Mr. K. M. Munshi, President, BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, who delivered the first lecture on "The Fundamentals of Aryan Culture." The Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher presided over the Inaugural Lecture, which was well attended and appreciated by the Bombay public. The other lectures of the series followed one by one on subsequent Saturdays till March 18, 1939. Thus, the first series of Extension Lectures consisted of 11 lectures. Some of them are included in the current issue of this JOURNAL.

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From the 9th January to 15th March 1939, Shri Munglal Goenka⁶ Institute of Higher Sanskrit Studies held post-Graduate classes to assist the students of the Bombay University who were preparing for the M.A. degree Examinations in Sanskrit, Ardha-magadhi, Ancient Indian Culture and Gujarati. Several students took the benefit of these classes.

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With a view to popularizing the study of Sanskrit and enlightening the general public about Indian Culture the BHAVAN started *Sanskrit Shikshan Mandir* on the premises of the Fellowship School, Gowalia Tank Road. There, during the first session a number of popular lectures were delivered in evenings in Hindi and Gujarati on various aspects of Indian Culture. The President delivered the Inaugural Lecture on January 11, 1939, and also followed it up with a series of four Sunday Lectures on *Bhagavad-Gītā*. In the Mandir, morning classes on Sanskrit were held by Pandit Motiram Shastri.

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SECOND SESSION (From June 1939 to October 1939).

As more space was needed for the increasing activities of the BHAVAN, all its Departments have been housed in a spacious Bungalow, called Vasant Villa, at Andheri from the 1st June 1939.

Thanks to the grant of Sir Kikabhai Premchand, Kt., a new Department of Jaina Studies was added to the BHAVAN on the 1st of June 1939. Professor A. S. Gopani, M.A., is in charge of this Department. The Department of Gujarati was also reorganized owing to the valued co-operation of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad; the Department was styled as *Shri Narmad Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Shikshapitha* and Shri Vishvanath M. Bhatt, B.A., was appointed Reader to be in charge of this Shikshapitha on the 1st June 1939. The Department of Bhagavata Dharma was strengthened by the additional appointment of Shri A. D. Pusalkar, M.A., LL.B., as Lecturer on the 5th June 1939. As our Honorary Lecturer in Hindi left Bombay, the Department of Hindi was put in charge of Muni Shri Jinavijayaji on the 1st June 1939.

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The Second Series of the *Extension Lectures on Indian Culture* was also conducted during this session. In all, eleven lectures were delivered also in the second series.

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In co-operation with the Post-Graduate Teachers of the University of Bombay, the staff of the BHAVAN conducted classes for the M.A. degree Examinations in Sanskrit, Ancient Indian Culture, Ardha-magadhi, and Gujarati. Some students received special guidance from the members of the staff in the seminars of the BHAVAN at Andheri.

* * * * *

Dr. Manilal Patel, Pandit Jayachandra Vidyalkar and Shri Vishvanath M. Bhatt have been recognized by the University of Bombay as University Teachers in M. A. degree respectively in Sanskrit, Indian History and Gujarati for two years from the 1st June 1939.

* * * * *

Shri Mumbadevi Sanskrit Pathashala was put under the direct supervision and management of the BHAVAN on the 1st September 1939. At present there are 12 students in the Pathashala. Pandit Motiram Shatri is the Head Pandit and Pandit B. L. Shanbhogue is the Superintendent of the Pathashala. The students are provided with free boarding and lodging, and besides being trained in Sanskrit for Title Examinations of the Government Sanskrit College, Benares, they are taught English and Hindi. A scheme for the reorganization and the expansion of the Pathashala is at present being considered.

* * * * *

A beginning of an Indological Library has been made in the BHAVAN. Various well-known Oriental series have been purchased and books worth several thousands have already been ordered from abroad. About 400 books have been lent by the President to the BHAVAN's library. Several Journals devoted to Indology and a few magazines and weeklies are subscribed to.

Members of the staff are at present preparing manuscripts of several volumes which will be published by the BHAVAN. A list of these will be found on the cover page (iv) of this JOURNAL. Two Journals have been started by the BHAVAN during the present term ; the first one is a half-yearly journal in English devoted to Indology in all its branches, and the second one, a similar Quarterly in Hindi-Gujarati. Both are called *Bhāratīya Vidyā*.

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The BHAVAN is already an Associated Member of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad and of Sahitya Sansad ; as such it has nominated six representatives to the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad. The members of the BHAVAN took active part in various functions organized by the Sahitya Sansad during the year under review. The BHAVAN sent its representatives to the Special Session of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Sammelan at Patan during the Easter Holidays this year. It proposes to send its delegates to the forthcoming Tenth All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Hyderabad (Dn.) during the Christmas Holidays this year.

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The BHAVAN has purchased from the Government a suitable piece of land at Andheri, on which it will build its own buildings, funds permitting.

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A Jyotisha Shikshapitha known as *Sheth Nagardas Rughnathdas Jyotisha Shikshapitha* is shortly to be added to the Departments of the BHAVAN.

* * * * *

The present Staff of the BHAVAN consists of the following :

DEPARTMENT OF SANSKRIT AND COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY :

- (i) Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph. D. (Marburg), Director and Shri Munglal Goenka Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology.
- (ii) Pandit Motiram Shastri.
- (iii) Pandit B. L. Shanbhogue.

DEPARTMENT OF PRAKRITIC LANGUAGES AND HINDI :

Muni Jinavijayaji, Shri Munglal Goenka Professor of Prakritic Languages and Hindi.

DEPARTMENT OF GUJARATI :

Shri Vishvanath M. Bhatt, B.A., Reader in Gujarati, Shri Narmad Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Shikshapitha.

DEPARTMENT OF BHAGAVATA DHARMA :

- (i) Shri Durgashanker K. Shastri, Hon. Professor of Bhagavata Dharma.
- (ii) Shri A. D. Pusalkar, M.A., LL.B., Shri Swaminarayana Lecturer in Bhagavata Dharma.
- (iii) Miss Sushila Mehta, M.A., LL.B., Shri Gordhandas Soonderdas Research Fellow in Bhagavata Dharma.

DEPARTMENT OF JAINA STUDIES :

Shri A. S. Gopani, M. A., Sir Kikabhai Premchand Professor of Jaina Studies.

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY :

Pandit Jayachandra Vidyalkar, Shri Rameshwardas Birla Professor of Indian History.

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APPENDIX I

FOUNDER-MEMBERS.

1. The Hon'ble Mr. K. M. Munshi, B. A., LL. B., M. L. A., Home Minister, Bombay ; Syndic, Bombay University ; President, Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, Bombay.
2. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. V. Divatia, M. A., LL.B., Judge, High Court, Bombay ; Fellow, Bombay University, Bombay.
3. The Hon'ble Mr. Mangaldas M. Pakvasa, B.A., LL.B., President, Legislative Council, Bombay.
4. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt., Patna.
5. Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad, K.C.I.E., LL.D., Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University, Bombay.
6. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., D. Litt., C.I.E., Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, Calcutta.
7. Dr. Anandshanker B. Dhruva, D. Litt., Ex-Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University ; Ahmedabad.
8. Dharma Dhurandhar Acharya Maharaj Shri Anandprasadji Shripatisprasadji Maharaj, Sansthan Vadtal.
9. His Highness Maharaja Shri Sir Natversinghji Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharaja Raja Saheb of Porbunder, Porbunder.
10. Lieut. His Highness Maharana Shri Virbhadrasinghji, Rajaji Saheb of Lunawada, Lunawada.
11. Maharana Shri Sir Daulat Singhji, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Thakore Saheb of Limbdi, Limbdi.
12. Maharajkumar Shri Dr. Raghubir Singh, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt., Sitamau.
13. Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B., Ex-Judge, High Court, Bombay ; Syndic, Bombay University, Bombay.
14. Muni Jinavijayaji, Ex-Principal, Puratattva Mandir of Gujarat Vidyapith ; Professor of Prakritic Languages, Shri Munglal Goenka Institute of Higher Sanskritic Studies, Bombay.
15. Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, Kt., K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.B., Bombay.
16. Mrs. Lilavati K. Munshi, M.L.A., Fellow, Bombay University, Bombay.
17. Sir Kikabhai Premchand, Kt., Bombay.

18. Rao Bahadur Chunilal H. Setalvad, C.I.E., Bar-at-Law, Ex-Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay.
19. Shri Mathuradas Vissanji, Bombay.
20. Shri Rameshwardas Birla, Bombay.
21. Shri Munglal Goenka, Bombay.
22. Shri Chatrabhuj Gordhandas Mooljee Jaitha, Bombay.
23. Shri Umadutt Nemani, Bombay.
24. Shri Chunilal B. Mehta, Ex-Sheriff, Bombay.
25. Shri Pranlal Devkaran Nanjee, Bombay.
26. Shri Maneklal Premchand, Bombay.
27. Shri Matubhai Kasanbhai, B.A., LL.B., Solicitor, Bombay.
28. Shri Tricumdas Dwarkadas, Solicitor, Bombay.
29. Shri Manilal D. Nanavati, B.A., LL.B., Solicitor, Bombay.
30. Shri Mangaldas B. Mehta, B.A., LL.B., Solicitor, Bombay.
31. Shri Thakoredas Nanabhai Merchant, M.A., LL.B., Solicitor, Bombay.
32. Shri A. B. Vaidya, B.A., LL.B., Solicitor, Bombay.
33. Shri Vasantram Jamietram, B.A., LL.B., Bombay.
34. Mahamahopadhyaya Rai Bahadur Dr. Gaurishanker H. Ojha, D. Litt., Ajmer.
35. Principal Kashmirasingh, M.A., Bombay.
36. Principal Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph. D., Bar-at-Law, Principal, The M. F. Cama Athornan Institute, Andheri.
37. Professor V. G. Rao, Bar-at-Law, Bombay.
38. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Ph. D., Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
39. Professor Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph. D. (Marburg), Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Shri Munglal Goenka Institute of Higher Sanskritic Studies, Bombay.
40. Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, Kamshet.
41. Professor Jayachandra Vidyalkar, Kashi Vidyapith, Benares.
42. Shri Laxmidas Goverdhandas Goculdas Tejpal, Bombay.
43. Shri Nanalal C. Mehta, B.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law, I.C.S., Aligarh.
44. Shri Sangji Sunderji, Bombay.
45. Shri Manharram H. Mehta, B.A., Retired Chief Translator, High Court, Bombay.
46. Shri Tarachand Navalchand Zaveri, Bombay.
47. Shri Hemchand Mohanlal Jhaveri, Bombay.
48. Shri Bhogilal Leherchand, Bombay.
49. Shri Mathuradas Tricumji, Bombay.
50. Shri Durgashanker K. Shastri, Bombay.
51. Shri Motilal Manekchand, *alias* Pratap Sheth, Amalner.
52. Shri Bahadur Singhji Singhi, F.R.S.A. (Lond.), F.A.G.S. (N. Y.), Calcutta.
53. Shri Madhavlal Makanji Bhatt, Bombay.
54. Shri Prabhashanker Ramchandra Bhatt, Bombay.

BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ

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May 1940



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PUBLICATIONS

The following works are under preparation and will be published by the Bhavan.

तरुणप्रभ By Muni Jinavijayaji

उक्तिव्यक्तिप्रकरण By Muni Jinavijayaji

RIGVEDA—MANDALA VI By Dr. Manilal Patel

JACOBI'S ESSAYS ON THE APABHRAMSHA

(In the press) By Dr. Manilal Patel

VAISHNAVISM: A HISTORICAL RETROS-

PECT By Shri Durgashanker K. Shastri
assisted by Miss Sushila Mehta, M A., LL. B.

VISUDDHIMAGGA (In the press) By Shri Dharmapala Kosambi

JNANAPANCAMIKATHA OF MAHESHVARASURI (10th cent. A.D.)
By Shri A. S. Gopani

COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN THE PURANAS By Shri A. D. Pusalker

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JOURNALS

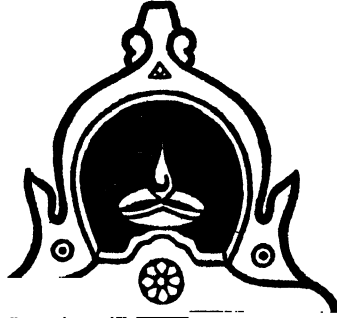
BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ

A half-yearly Journal in English devoted to Indology in all its branches.

— भारतीय विद्या —

A similar Quarterly Journal in Hindi-Gujarati.

BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ



अमृतं तु विद्या

Vol. I, Part II

May 1940

MAHĀTMĀ GANDHI—YOGA IN ACTION

By

Shri K. M. MUNSHI, B.A., LL. B., M.L.A.

Since 1932 I tried, though a little irreverently, to examine and probe into the phenomenon which I had come to cherish under the name 'GANDHIJI', not merely by what he had said and done, but by what I felt he was. For some years now I have placed myself in his hands—of course in a sense limited by my shortcomings and philosophy of life,—trying to be worthy of the trust he sometimes reposes in me, yielding to him an allegiance to which my temper and training are alien. I make no pretence to portraying him objectively : no one can, however capable he may be at analysing objective conditions.

India is familiar with GANDHIJI'S face and figure, as perhaps those of no other man, dead or living. Contemporaries have tried to catch them in picturesque phrases. Mrs. NAIDU calls him 'A Micky mouse of Man' ! CHURCHILL once called him, contemptuously, 'A Naked Fakir'. Somebody said he looked a Satyr. The bald head, the hooked nose, the toothless mouth, the large straight set ears—not to forget the inevitable goat, which, by the way, I have never seen him in company with—have attracted the pen of the caricaturists and the art of vaudeville directors. My experience has been quite different. When I see him I only see the smile lighting up the little world around him with joy and the eyes enveloping me with affectionate understanding. I hear the voice which thrills me. Sometimes I keep company with the springy feet which remind me of undying youth. On occasions I hear him lay down the law with the serene immutability of one 'speaking with authority'.

And everytime I attend his prayers I see in the fragile body seated before me draped in white, with eyes closed and head bowed in humble submission to God, only a self-forged instrument of something above and beyond me, which communicates through it love, inspiration, and wisdom which passeth understanding.

His day is a self-contained epitome of a life-time. Rest and relaxation, well-adjusted hours for exercise, food and sleep, prayers and solitude, all find place in the day's programme of work which embraces almost every sphere of life. Up at the 'Brāhmanuhūrta'—4 a.m.—the hour held sacred by the R̥sis for rising—he has his morning prayers. Then he has a walk, often with a companion, an anxious politician, a recalcitrant follower, or a sorrowing wife seeking solace in a domestic tangle. Of late on account of failing health he goes for a walk after sunrise, when often a little crowd follows him at a reverential distance. On return the daily routine starts. Interviews have to be held while an attendant gives him massage. Letters have to be read, including those from American admirers and British correspondents, from eager applicants for monetary help and from poisonous detractors. The blank part of every paper has to be saved with care to be used for future communications. Then there are jokes, joyous, harmless and witty, to enliven dull moments; little children to be played and laughed with; domestic problems and personal difficulties of disciples to be solved; sometimes the ways of snakes—a bottle full of them—have to be studied and little discoveries like 'gul' from the toddy tree to be made and broadcast; and, perhaps, most irritating of all even to him, the rivalries of irrepressible followers to be adjusted. In this welter of activities several India-wide organisations doing constructive work have to be guided. The work of leading Congressmen all over India has to be controlled, the problems of communal harmony and untouchability to be straightened, and so vast an organisation like the Congress to be supervised. British statesmen have to be dealt with at long range or through several intermediaries. The principle of non-violence has to be interpreted and applied to the fluctuating experience of daily life. The philosophy and technique of *satyāgraha* are to be presented for the emancipation of the world. At the same time the poise and detachment of a *yogi* has to be maintained by self-control, prayer and constant communication with God. And these facts have to be performed in failing energies and under erratic blood pressure from a little village a few miles away from railway and telegraph.

In all these multifarious activities the one thing that forcefully strikes even a casual observer is that he is the master. *My Experiments with Truth*—his autobiography—has recorded his ceaseless struggle for mastery over human weaknesses¹ with which he was more than normally endowed. He has willed his body to perform its appointed task. He has created his own surroundings,

1. *Yogasūtra*, I. 12 : अभ्यासवैराग्याभ्यां तन्निरोधः

and shaped the lives of those around him. He has forged the formidable organisations which struggle to liberate India.

The first trait in GANDHIJI which even at first sight distinguishes him from all men is the perfection of each little act of his. His papers are arranged in unimpeachable order. His short loin cloth is worn with a fastidious care which would rouse the envy of a smartly dressed young man. His courtesy is incomparable. His chivalrous attention to women—may be of the lowlies—would leave the accomplished far behind. The shortest of his letters has a personal touch which binds the addressee to him. His political correspondence has force and dignity which trained diplomats may covet. His tone, manner and language on all occasions is faultlessly appropriate. The appropriateness, however, is not mechanical. It has the grace of spontaneity. It has a soulful reality, which one who has devoted sympathetic attention to the occasion alone can give. The words of the *Gītā*, 'Yoga is perfection in action',² has come true in him.

Another outstanding trait is the capacity to separate the essentials from non-essentials. However tangled the web, GANDHIJI can be relied upon to unweave it by a faculty which his incessant search of Truth has given him. That is why persons who have mental reservations find it difficult to get along with him.

"What is Truth?" asked Pilate; and so did I, with my notions of historical relativity when I saw GANDHIJI laying emphasis on it. At one time I considered a violent revolution the only true solution of India's evils. GANDHIJI thought it untrue, and so do I now. There cannot be two truths. And yet Vyāsa and Patañjali and in their footsteps GANDHIJI insist that Truth is law, to be observed in all climes and at all times³. For many years, I sought the solution of this difficulty, till a closer view of GANDHIJI showed me the way.

Truth for the ordinary mortal, cannot be objective; his subjective weaknesses always blur his vision. HEGEL'S great contribution to human thought was the discovery of historical relativism. No human mind, he found, could climb out of its environment and view things objectively from an absolute standpoint. But in India from times immemorial the masters have laid down that by ceaseless effort and assiduous detachment to worldly things the mind can become detached, fearless and untainted by wrath;⁴ it can then transcend the direct and inferential knowledge, fancy even memory, and with vision en-

2. *Bhagavadgītā*, II. 50 : योगः कर्मसु कौशलम् ।

3. *Bhagavadgītā*, XVI. 2 : अहिंसा सत्यमक्रोधस्त्यागः शान्तिरपैशुनम् । | cf. also notes 6, 7 below.

4. *Bhagavadgītā*, IV. 10 : वीतरागभयक्रोधा मन्मया मामुपाश्रिताः ।

बहवो ज्ञानतपसा पूता मद्भावमागताः ॥

cf. also, *Yogasūtra*, II, 29 : यमनियमासनप्राणायामप्रत्याहारधारणाध्यानसमाधयोऽष्टावङ्गानि ।

dimmed can see the Truth as it is,⁵ which is entirely different from what seems to us and what we call truth. GANDHIJI'S effort throughout his life has been to undergo the training necessary to be able to see this Truth by struggling to practise such truth as he can see through the varying conditions of life. And this individual struggle of his has crowned his creative efforts with success. In less than twenty-five years miracles have been accomplished. Congress has become a powerful organ of a great nation. Antediluvian Khadi has become a modern achievement. Untouchability has been exploded. Non-violence has come to be a live force in politics. Battles have been fought with a mighty empire with the aid of this novel weapon. Indians have acquired a heroic tradition. Three-fourths of India has come to be governed by a steel-frame of which GANDHIJI is the final director. This is the result of his 'Experiments with Truth'.

He did not lay down one policy for leaders and a myth for the masses. If he preached a thing he was the first to practise. If possessing things was a sin, it was sin even for his wife to keep a few rupees with her however innocently. If Rajkot was a failure, it was a failure to be announced and repented for publicly. No great man known to history has publicly confessed to so many weaknesses and blunders. Not that others were guilty of such lapses, but their sense of truth did not demand an open acknowledgment. Truth that GANDHIJI is seeking is not correctness of facts or logical accuracy. His life stands for the principle that thought, word and deed welded in harmony alone lead to enduring creative effort. It is the law of Moral causation as enunciated by Patañjali. 'If an individual practises Truth, his actions bear immediate fruition.'⁶ Accomplishment is only the visible counterpart of the individual experience of harmonising thought, speech and action.

GANDHIJI'S life has been a living embodiment of the inexorability of this Law of Moral Causation. The *Mahāvratas*, the broad-heads under which the Law is generally treated, are Non-violence and Truth, non-stealing, non-waste and non-possession.⁷ They are universal, to be pursued without any consideration of the class of persons concerned or the time, place or utility of their application.⁸ They are not categorical imperatives. They may or may not lead to benefit in this world or the next. But they are a part of the chain of cause and effect which experience has shown to be unalterable. If an individual becomes non-violent in thought, word and deed, he would attract love, which implies lasting influence over man. Many men have tamed the fierce beasts by non-violence. The early Christian martyrs practised it and the love of Europe gravitated to them. All his

5. *Yogasūtra*, I. 48 : ऋतम्भरा तस्य प्रज्ञा ।

6. *Yogasūtra*, II. 36 : सत्यप्रतिष्ठायां क्रियाफलाश्रयत्वम् ।

7. *Yogasūtra*, II. 30 : अहिंसासत्याऽस्तेयब्रह्मचर्यापरिग्रहा यमाः ।

8. *Yogasūtra*, II. 31 : जातिदेशकालसमयानवच्छिन्नाः सार्वभौमा महाव्रतम् ।

life GANDHIJI has defied and fought men and interests, but his antagonists bear him no malice. For, "when a man has realised non-violence," says Patañjali, "people come to him forgetting their hostility."⁹ In a recent instance a devoted and capable follower, a married man, had fallen in love with an unmarried pupil, by whom he was going to have a child. It was a great moral issue. GANDHIJI, to whom the man confessed, shed tears. "But it was the tie of love. I cannot take a sword and cut it into two. I had to try an experiment in non-violence," he said. GANDHIJI made arrangements to protect the girl in her misfortune. The man who had sinned was asked to give up all public and private life and was sentenced to stay with him for an unlimited period to outlive infamy by mute service. And when I heard this incident from his own lips, the faint echoes of another conversation came to my mind across the centuries. "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her.... Woman, where those thine accusers? Hath no man condemned thee? She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee : go, and sin no more."

And so with non-stealing. Experience has proved that when a man becomes the embodiment of non-stealing he attracts wealth.¹⁰ When a man realises non-waste in himself, vigour follows.¹¹ Throughout his life GANDHIJI has tried to stop waste—by celibacy and silence, by planned economy of his time and energy, and in spite of failing health he enjoys vigour of mind and body. When a man gives up all possessions he realises the how and wherefore of existence, what his place in life is and what is his destined goal.¹² It is non-possession which gives GANDHIJI that clarity of vision which baffles all logic and calculation. Non-violence, Truth, Non-stealing, Non-waste and Non-possession are respectively the inseparable antecedents of power and accomplishment, wealth and vigour and a true view of life's fulfilment. This is neither theory nor a message from above. There is no historical relativism about it. It is like the law of gravitation. As the apple falls off the tree it is drawn to the earth. It is the law of cause and effect established by boundless experience.

Thus we come across GANDHIJI against the background of this modern world : a man who, amidst shifting conventions and violent conflicts between nations and races, has transcended relativity and surrendered himself unswervingly to the inevitable certainty of the Law. The *Mahāvratas* are, in and through him, realised as the only unchanging realities. This explains the love and faith which millions dedicate to him from all parts of the world.

9. *Yogasūtra*, II. 35 : अहिंसाप्रतिष्ठायां तत्सन्निधौ वैरत्यागः ।

10. *Yogasūtra*, II. 37 : अस्तेयप्रतिष्ठायां सर्वरत्नोपस्थानम् ।

11. *Yogasūtra*, II. 38 : ब्रह्मचर्यप्रतिष्ठायां वीर्यलाभः ।

12. *Bhagavadgītā*, XVIII. 66 : सर्वधर्मान्परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज ।

अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥

Through him they hear the voice not merely of Narasimha, Tulsi and St. Augustine, but the message of Christ and Buddha, of Confucius and of Vyāsa, the first and greatest of those who *saw* and taught this Law.

An ordinary mortal, with the powers and accomplishments which we associate with the name of GANDHIJI, would have been the victim of his own perfection. But not so this successor to the line of the immortal Teachers. For he is humble. He has surrendered himself to God.¹³ This 'surrender' is difficult to understand, more so to practise, except for those who have by personal experience worked their way to it. The human will is weak till it is built on the solid foundation of a surrender to something undefined but un-failing. It is not as easy as it looks, this '*Īśvarapranidhāna*', the surrender to God;¹⁴ nor as ridiculous as we, in our modern arrogant intellectualism, think. If GANDHIJI had not his God to fall back on, he would be weaker than most men through whom he works. His mind is infused with Him; his faith is anchored on what he feels to be His will.¹⁵ Friend of all, full of compassion, rid of 'I' and 'Mine', poised alike in pain and pleasure, he lives and moves and has his being only as His instrument.¹⁶ To us men of no such experience it is difficult to believe what to him is the Reality in which he subsists and through which his being is nourished and impregnated with eternal freshness. And that makes him the Master.

13. *Yogasūtra*, I. 23 : ईश्वरप्रणिधानाद्वा ।

14. *Yogasūtra*, II. 45 : समाधिसिद्धिरीश्वरप्रणिधानात् ।

15. *Bhagavadgītā*, IX. 34 : मन्मना भव मद्भक्तो मद्याजी मां नमस्कुरु ।
मामेवैष्यसि युक्तत्वैवमात्मानं मत्परायणः ॥

16. *Bhagavadgītā*, XII. 13 : अद्वेष्टा सर्वभूतानां मैत्रः करुण एव च ।
निर्ममो निरहंकारः समदुःखसुखः क्षमी ॥

ON THE LIFE OF BUDDHAGHOSA *

By

Prof. DHARMANANDA KOSAMBI

The accepted account of the life of Buddhaghosa is in the *Mahāvamsa*,¹ chap. xxxvii, verses 215-246, of which the following is a summary :

Born near the Bodhi tree (near Gayā), a young Brahmin controversialist, well versed in all branches of the arts, in the Vedas, and in the doctrines of various sects, wandered about India for the purpose of debate. As he arrived one night at a Buddhist monastery, and had given a clear exposition of the doctrine of Patañjali, his arguments were refuted by a mahāthera named Revata. On the other hand, the young Brahmin was unable to follow the Buddhist's arguments, and finally asked for instruction.

He entered the novitiate, learning and accepting the three Piṭakas. The name Buddhaghosa was given to him because his voice was deep like the Buddha's. In the viihāra where he was converted, he composed a treatise called *Ñāṇodaya* ; wrote the *Aṭṭhasālinī*, commentary upon the *Dhammasaṅgani* ; and finally undertook a short commentary on the *Tiṭṭaka*. Whereupon the Thera Revata spoke :

'Only the texts, not the commentaries, have been brought here [from Ceylon] ; the traditions of the various teachers are not available. However, in Ceylon, the authoritative and quite orthodox commentaries compiled by Mahinda are extant in the Singhalese. Go there, study them, translate them into the Māgadhi language. They will benefit all.'

So Buddhaghosa arrived in Ceylon in the reign of King Mahānāma. In the Mahāpadhāna hall of the Mahāvihāra, he heard the Singhalese Commentary as well as the Theravāda tradition from Saṅghapāla. It seemed to him the doctrine of the Buddha. But when he demanded access to all the books, in order to write a commentary, the Order gave him two stanzas as a test. Upon these he wrote the *Visuddhimagga*, an epitome of the three Piṭakas with commentaries. At the first reading of this work, the gods hid the book away, and repeated the performance after he had done the work again. The third time, the deities produced the former copies to show the people his skill. And there was found after comparing the three books, not the least variation from the Theravāda, in composition, in meaning, in sequence, nor even in the very letters.

* The BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ BHAVAN is shortly to publish a critical edition of Buddhaghosa's well-known work, *Visuddhimagga*. The edition is prepared by Professor DHARMANANDA KOSAMBI.—EDITOR.

1. This part of the *Mahāvamsa* is called *Cūlavamsa* in the P.T.S. edition.

He was immediately acclaimed by the Order as a veritable Metteyya Bodhisattva, and the aṭṭhakathās were given to him. Living in that pure vihāra, rich in all such books, he translated them from Singhalese into the 'original language,' Māgadhi. This work benefited people of all languages ; all the teachers of the Theravāda honoured it as a sacred text.

Thus, having finished his task, Buddhaghosa returned to the land of his birth, to reverence the great Bodhi tree.

This account so stated is subject to criticism. Buddhaghosa could not be a native of Buddhagayā. As a negative proof, we do not find that the scene of a single one of his numerous contemporary stories is set in Magadha. In the tale of Visākha [IX. 64-69] who migrated from Pāṭaliputra, the starting-point is in Ceylon, not Magadha. In all his works there is no description of North India such as an eyewitness would give. More positive evidence is in the passage "*Uṇhassā ti aggisantāpassa. Tassa vanadāhādisu sambhavo veditabbo*" [I. 86]. "Heat : the heat of fire, such as occurs at the time of a forest fire, etc." This is a comment upon the protection against heat given by a cīvara. His explanation is obviously ridiculous. It is not known to Indian southerners that a bare skin sometimes blisters in the northern summer. Again, commenting upon the Gopālaka Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya [Papañcasūdanī ii. 265-266], he seems to believe that sand bars are common in the Ganges between Magadha and Videha [Behar].² The "Gaṅgā" with which he was acquainted is evidently the Mahawallī-Gaṅgā of Ceylon, and not the sacred river of India.

Buddhaghosa could not have been a Brahmin. From Vedic times, every Brahmin has been expected to know the famous Puruṣasūkta hymn :

ब्राह्मणो¹ ऽस्य मुखमासीद् बाहू राजन्यः कृतः ।

ऊरू तदस्य यद्वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत ॥

[R̥g-Veda X. 90. 12 ; also cf. Atharva Veda XIX. 6. 6.]

"The Brahmin was his mouth. Kṣatriya his arms, Vaiśya his thighs ; Śūdra was born of his feet." Yet Buddhaghosa, supposed to be a learned Brahmin, was not acquainted with this. Commenting on "Bandhupādāpaccā" —"children of Brahma's feet"—he says, "The Brahmins are of this opinion : Brahmins came out of Brahma's mouth, Kṣatriyas from his breast, Vaiśyas from his navel, Śūdras from the legs, and Śramaṇas from his soles."³

The word "Bhūnahu" occurs in Pali as "Bhrūṇahā" in Brahminical

2. तेन हि गोपालकेन...मज्झे गङ्गाय गुत्रं विस्समद्धानत्थं द्वे तीणि वालिकत्थलानि सल्लक्खेतब्बानि अस्सु ।

3. तेसं किर अयं लद्धि—ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मनो मुखतो निक्खन्ता, खत्तिया उरतो, वेस्सा नाभितो, शूद्रा जानुतो, समणा पिट्ठिपादतो ति । [M. Atth. ii. 418 ; cf. D. Atth. i. 254].

literature to signify "embryo-killer."⁴ In the Māgandiyā Sutta [M. i. 502] Māgandiyā reproaches Buddha as a Bhrūṇahā for having ceased to have intercourse with his wife. It is clear from his comment that Buddhaghosa did not understand the real meaning of this word. He explains it as 'hatavaḍḍhi, mariyādakāraka.'⁵ Finally, it is also to be noticed that Buddhaghosa makes fun of the Brahmins [I, 93]. This in itself is inconclusive, as it might be the jeering of an apostate.

Of Patañjali, or any northern tradition, Buddhaghosa knew little. Out of all Patañjali, only the terms *anīmā* and *laghimā* are mentioned [VII. 61], without any further knowledge of the Yogasūtra. There is no comparative study, nor even a single reference to the work or name of Patañjali. The term "Prakṛtivāda" [Sāṅkhya] is mentioned⁶ in the 17th chapter, where a rudimentary acquaintance with Nyāya, the Indian system of logic, is shown by reference to the structure of syllogism.⁷ All his knowledge of other sects does not exceed that of a learned Singhalese monk of today, or of a southern Bhikku of about the 11th century A.D. [Such as Anuruddha or Dhammapāla.] The methods, principles, or even the existence of the great Mahāyāna teachers such as Nāgārjuna and Aśvaghōṣa, seem to be unknown to him. He does mention the epics Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, without showing any familiarity with them: "Legend means Bhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, etc. It is not proper to go to the places where they are recited,"⁸ also "the Bhārata war ...and the abduction of Sītā, such fruitless stories."⁹

4. ' ऋतुं वै याचमानाया न ददाति पुमान् ऋतुम् ।
 भ्रूणहेत्युच्यते ब्रह्मन् स इह ब्रह्मवादिभिः ॥
 अभिकामां स्त्रियं यश्च गम्यां रहसि याचितः ।
 नोपैति स च धर्मेषु भ्रूणहेत्युच्यते बुधैः ॥

[महाभारत, आदि. ८३।३३-३४]

5. भूतहुनो ति हतवड्डिनो मरियादकारकस्स । कस्मा एवमाह ? छसु द्वारेसु वड्डिपञ्चापनल-
 द्विकत्ता । अयं हि तस्स लद्धि-चक्खु ब्रूहेतव्वं, वड्डेतव्वं, दिट्ठं समतिकमितव्वं... कायो ब्रूहेतव्वो,
 वड्डेतव्वो, अफुट्ठं फुसितव्वं, फुट्ठं समतिकमितव्वं । मनो ब्रूहेतव्वो, वड्डेतव्वो, अविज्जातं विजानितव्वं
 विज्जातं समतिकमितव्वं । एवं सो छसु द्वारेसु वड्डिं पञ्चापेति । [मज्झिमनिकायट्ठकथा ३।१३१]

6. किं पकतिवादीनं पकति विद्य अविज्जापि अकारणं मूलकारणं लोकस्सा ति । [१७।३६]

7. पटिज्जा हेतू ति आदिस्सु हि लोके वचनावयवो हेतू ति वुचति । [१७।६७] ।

8. अक्खानंति भारत-रामायणादि । तं यस्मिं ठाने कथियति, तथ गन्तुं न वट्ठति ।

[दीघनिकायट्ठकथा १।७६]

9. अनत्थविज्जापिका कायवचीपयीपयोगसमुट्ठापिका अकुसलचेतना सम्फप्पलापो । सो
 आसेवनमन्दताय अप्पसावज्जो, आसेवनमहन्तताय महासावज्जो । तस्स द्वे सम्भारा, भारतयुद्ध-
 सीताहरणादि-निरत्थकथा-पुरेक्खारता, तथारूपिकथाकथनञ्च । [दीघनिकायट्ठकथा १।७६]

Accordingly the greater part of the Mahāvamsa story appears to be legendary. It is said that the Aṭṭhasālinī was written by Buddhaghosa in India. From the style, content, and the introduction, it is doubtful whether Buddhaghosa wrote the book. That he could have written it before the Visuddhimagga is impossible, since the Visuddhimagga is referred to in the opening stanzas of the Aṭṭhasālinī.¹⁰ Whoever wrote that part of the Mahāvamsa had not opened the Aṭṭhasālinī. That Buddhaghosa, while desiring access to the commentaries should prove his fitness to work upon them by epitomizing the Piṭakas together with their commentaries, is surprising. Many quotations from the commentaries are fully and accurately given in the Visuddhimagga. In fact, he says in all his aṭṭhakathās that he has prepared the Visuddhimagga as an illuminative comment upon all four Nikāyas. If the Mahāvamsa chronicler did try to verify the legend about Buddhaghosa by examining Buddhaghosa's works, he got no further than the two 'fundamental' gāthās at the beginning of the Visuddhimagga. If the Nāpodaya had existed, it alone would not have been lost while all the other works of Buddhaghosa survive. It is nowhere mentioned in Pali literature, the Mahāvamsa excepted. Possibly, this may be a book which gods hid and forgot to restore !

From the narrative of the Mahāvamsa, one fact remains : that Buddhaghosa came from India to Ceylon in the reign of Mahānāma [end of 4th century A.D.]. This is confirmed by Burmese authorities ;¹¹ but the latter say that he went to Ceylon from Thaton, being a Talaing by birth. The tradition has an element of truth. I believe that he was a Telanga, from the Telugu country of Southern India, not a Burmese Talaing. The Telangas colonized extensively in Burma and Indo-China, the term Talaing being a corruption of their original name. His birth place was the village of Moraṇḍakheṭaka [Peacock-egg-village], as is very clear from the colophon of this book, where he is called "Moraṇḍakheṭaka-vattabena," or Moraṇḍakheṭaka Buddhaghosa. The method of nomenclature is still followed in Dravidian India and Ceylon. His surname vanished when his fame had made him *The* Buddhaghosa. It is to be noticed that the usually clever scribe of B1 changes the word *morāṇḍakheṭaka* to *mudantakheḍaka* [gladness ending in sorrow] ; the Singhalese manuscripts read *ceṭaka* for *kheṭaka* a possible confusion of letters. *Kheṭaka* is Sanskrit for village and remains in the modern South Indian vernaculars as *Kheḍā*.

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10. कम्मट्टानानि सब्बानि चरियाभिञ्जा-विपस्सना ।
 विबुद्धिमग्गे पनिदं यस्मा सब्बं पकासितं ॥
 तस्मा तं अगहेत्त्वान सकलाय पि तन्तिता ।
 पदानुक्रमतो एव करिस्सामत्थवण्णनं ॥

[अट्ठसालिनी २]

11. See Introduction to the Buddhaghosupatti by James Gray (London 1892), pp. 11, 16, 20, 21, 23-24.

He lived for some time at Mayūrasuttapaṭṭana or Mayūrarūpapaṭṭana, as he says in the colophon at the end of the M. Aṭṭh. "I am writing [this aṭṭhakathā] at the request of the venerable Buddhamitta, who lived with me at Mayūrasuttapaṭṭana (or Mayūrarūpapaṭṭana)." I cannot locate this, nor his birthplace, but an archæologist familiar with the Telugu country should be able to identify it ; here, at least a small monastery existed.

The next bit of information is from the colophon of the A. Aṭṭh.

"I am writing [this aṭṭhakathā] at the request of the venerable Jotipāla, who lived with me at Kañcīpura and other places."

Travelling perhaps in the order mentioned, he came to Ceylon with the definite aim of studying the Singhalese commentaries. The vast upheavals in government and religious culture from the death of Asoka to the Gupta period had left Ceylon untouched. The isolated fragments of Buddhist learning scattered throughout Southern India were much inferior to the continuous tradition of Ceylon. To learn this tradition of Ceylon must have been the purpose of Buddhaghosa's journey.

After studying the commentaries, perhaps under Saṅghapāla, he conceived the plan of translating them into Pali for the convenience of those readers who did not know the Singhalese language. Jotipāla is credited with the suggestion that Buddhaghosa wrote the S. Aṭṭh., and also his last authentic work, the A. Aṭṭh. ; Buddhamitta suggested the writing of the M. Aṭṭh. But the very first of this series, the D. Aṭṭh. was, according to Buddhaghosa, suggested by the Saṅghathera Dāṭhānāga, of the Sumaṅgala College at Anurādhapura. However, before writing any of these works, he, at the suggestion of the venerable Saṅghapāla, composed the Visuddhimagga as a general illuminative work. This is referred to in the other works, and indeed is counted as an integral part of each one of them.

All these facts are gleaned from the colophons. One conjecture may be made from his writings, that he was of the farmer [gahapati] class. He says in the M. Aṭṭh. [ii. 204] : "Why does the Buddha mention the farmer caste first ? Because they have the least pride and they are the most in number. Often the monks from a Kshatriya family are proud of their caste ; those from a Brahmin family are proud of their learning ; those from the low castes, because of their low birth, are unable to continue long in the Order. But the young farmers plough their land while their whole body is running with sweat. This then dries and forms salt on their backs. Therefore they are not proud ... From the other families, not very many become monks ; of the farmers many..."¹²

The Burmese tradition that Buddhaghosa came from Thaton may be founded upon a fact ; possibly Buddhaghosa went there from Ceylon. His works are better preserved in Burma than in Ceylon, and though they show

12. See D. Aṭṭh. i. 179-180 ; and M. Aṭṭh. ii. 204.

no particular acquaintance with Burma, the last years of his life might have been spent in Thaton.

Those stanzas found in the introductions and colophons of the Aṭṭhakathās of the four Nikāyas, which refer to the Visuddhimagga or throw some light on the life of Buddhaghosa, are given below.

The following stanzas are found in the introduction of all the four Aṭṭhakathās, except the word “Dighāgamanissitaṃ” in the last line, which belong to the D. Aṭṭh. It is replaced by “Majjhimsaṅgītiyā” in M. Aṭṭh., by “Saṃyuttakanissitaṃ” in S. Aṭṭh., and by “Aṅguttaranissitaṃ” A. Aṭṭh.

सीलकथा धुतधम्मा कम्मट्टानानि चेव सब्बानि ।
 चरियाविधानसहितो ज्ञानसमापत्तिवित्थारो ॥
 सब्बा च अभिञ्जायो पञ्चासङ्कलननिच्छयो चेव ।
 खन्धा धातायतनिन्द्रियानि अरियानि चेव चत्तारि ॥
 सच्चानि पच्चयाकारदेसना सुपरिसुद्धनिपुणनया ।
 अविमुत्ततन्तिमग्गा विपस्सनाभावना चेव ॥
 इति पन सब्बं यस्मा विमुद्धिमग्गे मया सुपरिसुद्धं ।
 वुत्तं तस्मा भिय्यो न तं इध विचारयिस्सामि ॥
 मज्झे विमुद्धिमग्गो एस चतुन्नम्पि आगमानं हि ।
 टत्वा पकासयिस्सति तत्थ यथाभासितं अत्थं ॥
 इच्चेव कतो तस्मा तम्पि गहेत्वान सद्धिमेताय ।
 अट्टकथाय विजानथ दीघागमनिस्सितं अत्थं ति ॥

The following stanzas are taken from the colophons of the four Aṭṭhakathās, printed in Siamese characters. Except in A. Aṭṭh., they are printed as prose. Having compared them with the available Burmese and Singhalese texts, I have made a few unimportant changes to follow the meter.

At the end of D. Aṭṭh. :

आयाचितो सुमङ्गल-परिवेणनिवासिना थिरगुणेन ।
 दाठानागसङ्गत्येरेन थेरवंसन्वयेन ॥
 दीघागमस्स दसवल-गुणगणपरिदीपनस्स अट्टकथं ।
 यं आरभिं सुमङ्गलविलासिनिं नाम नामेन ॥
 सा हि महा-अट्टकथाय सारमादाय निद्रिता एसा ।
 एकासीतिपमाणाय पाळिया भाणवारेहि ॥
 एकूनसद्धिमत्तो विमुद्धिमग्गो पि भाणवारेहि ।
 अत्थप्पकासनत्थाय आगमानं कतो यस्मा ॥
 तस्मा तेन सहायं अट्टकथा भाणवारगणनाय ।
 सुपरिस्मितपरिच्छिन्नं चत्तालीसकसत्तं होति ॥

At the end of M. Aṭṭh. :

आयाचितो सुमतिना थेरेन भदन्त-बुद्धमित्तेन ।
 पुब्बे मयूरसुत्तपट्टनम्हि¹³ सद्धिं वसन्तेन ॥

13. Singhalese MS. reads Mayūrarūpapaṭṭanamhi.

परवादिवादविद्वंसनस्स मज्झिमनिकायसेट्ठस्स ।
 यमहं पपञ्चसूदनिमद्गकथं कातुमारद्धो ॥
 सा हि महा-अट्ठकथाय सारमादाय निद्धिता एसा ।
 सत्तुत्तरसतमत्ताय पाळिया भाणवारेहि ॥
 एकूनसट्ठिमत्तो विसुद्धिमग्गो पि भाणवारेहि ।
 अत्थप्पकासनत्थाय आगमानं कतो यस्मा ॥
 तस्मा तेन सहायं गाथागणनानयेन अट्ठकथा ।
 समधिक-छसट्ठिसतं विज्जेय्या भाणवारेहि ॥

At the end of S. Atth. :

बहुपकारं यतिनं विपस्सनाहरणपुञ्जबुद्धीनं ।
 संयुत्तवरनिकायस्स अत्थसंवण्णनं कातुं ॥
 सद्धम्मस्स चिरट्ठितिमभिलसमानेन या मया निपुणा ।
 अट्ठकथा आरद्धा सारत्थप्पकासिनी नाम ॥
 सा हि महा-अट्ठकथाय सारमादायो निद्धिता एसा ।
 अट्ठसत्ततिमत्ताय पाळिया भाणवारेहि ॥
 एकूनसट्ठिमत्तो विसुद्धिमग्गो पि भाणवारेहि ।
 अत्थपकासनत्थाय आगमानं कतो यस्मा ॥
 तस्मा तेन सहायं अट्ठकथा भाणवारगणनाय ।
 थोकेन अपरिपूरं ससत्ततिसतिसतं होति ॥

At the end of A. Atth. :

आयाचितो सुमतिना थेरेन भदन्त-जोतिपालेन ।
 कञ्चीपुरादिषु मया पुब्बे सद्धिं वसन्तेन ॥
 वरतम्बपण्णिदीपे महाविहारमिह वसनकाले पि ।
 वाताहते विय दुमे पलुज्जमानमिह सद्धम्मे ॥
 पारं पिटकत्तयसागरस्स गन्त्वा ठितेन सुब्बतिना ।
 परिसुद्धाजीवेनाभियाचितो जीवकेनापि ॥
 धम्मकथानयनिपुणेहि धम्मकथिकेहि अपरिमाणेहि ।
 परिकीळितस्स पटिपज्जितस्स [सक-] समयचित्रस्स ॥
 अट्ठकथं अङ्गुत्तरमहानिकायस्स कातुमारद्धो ।
 यमहं चिरकालट्ठितिमिच्छन्तो सासनवरस्स ॥
 सा हि महा-अट्ठकथाय सारमादाय निद्धिता एसा ।
 चतुनवतिप्परिमाणाय पाळिया भाणवारेहि ॥
 सब्बागमसंवण्णन-मनोरथो पूरितो च मे यस्मा ।
 एताय, मनोरथपूरणी ति नामं ततो अस्सा ॥
 एकूनसट्ठिमत्तो विसुद्धिमग्गो पि भाणवारेहि ।
 अत्थप्पकासनत्थाय आगमानं कतो यस्मा ॥
 तस्मा तेन सहायं गाथागणनानयेन अट्ठकथा ।
 तीहधिकदियड्डसतं विज्जेय्या भाणवारानं ॥

HINDU LAW—ANCIENT AND MODERN*

By

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. V. DIVATIA, M.A., LL. B.

The lecture mainly concerns itself with the evolution of Hindu Law, especially the major changes which have taken place in it from time to time. Till recently, Hindu Law was the embodiment of popular opinion of the time.

It is wrong to say that Hindu Law was not progressive. In fact, it was more progressive before than it is now. It is well known that *Śr̥tis* and *Sm̥rtis* are the basis of Hindu Law. *Śr̥tis* were the revelations which the ancient Ṛ̥sis of Āryāvarta had, *Sm̥rtis* are based on those revelations. *Yājñavalkya Sm̥rti* is the text of Hindu Law applied to this part of India. In the early days, Hindu Law was not divorced from religion. In all the *Sm̥rti* Texts, law is mentioned as 'dharma'. Law of property forms part of the *Sm̥rti*, i.e. books dealing with religion, and is not a secular subject.

Religious and secular ideas have been welded together in the Hindu Law. Thus the devolution of property and the performance of *Śrāddha* go together. Taking of property was regarded as a religious obligation, and the persons entitled to perform *Śrāddha* were alone entitled to share in the property. The religious basis of Hindu Law would be evident especially in the domain of succession from the conception of *pin̄ḍas*. Those offering *pin̄ḍas* could get a share in the property. The theory of adoption is also intimately connected with the *pin̄ḍas* : if there was no son born to a person, somebody must be procured for performing the religious ceremonies to secure peace for the soul of the deceased. So a son was adopted for offering *pin̄ḍas* ; devolution of property involved the obligation of performing religious duties.

In the Hindu Law, community is regarded as a unit. Individual has no existence, except only as a part of the community. Joint family is based on this notion. This system is not known to any community and not found in any jurisprudence. In this system, all males constituted the coparcenary because only males were competent to perform religious ceremonies according to the *Śr̥tis*. Persons who had some interest in the property were members of the joint family, but were not coparceners. Sons, by their very birth, became members of coparcenary. This is a corollary of the principle that father is born as son.

In ancient times, wealth or property, consisted only or mostly of immovables. Ideas of moveables evolved after society migrated to towns. The main ideas behind formulating rules of succession were that property should be preserved and that it should not go outside the family. Therefore, property

* Summary of an Extension Lecture, delivered extempore on October 7, 1939.

went to the son. If there was no son, it went to the agnates as they performed religious ceremonies (*Śrāddha* and *pinḍas*).

Sons got interest in the property by birth even in the life time of the father, and can claim partition; in the case of other heirs, the property is called obstructed heritage in their hands in the life time of the last owner.

Hindu Law did not allow separation in the beginning. The whole family was a unit. Whatever was earned by a member was presumed to be joint family property. Later, individual members were allowed to have separate property. A person may thus have an interest in joint family property and also have separate property.

Similarly, in olden times, sons could not demand partition. Gradually, however, as sons began to live separately they were allowed to demand property from their father. The property in the hands of a separated son was regarded as ancestral with regard to his sons, and a new joint family was constituted. Thus, although the right of partition was given, the joint family remained.

Gradually, the notion of individual property came in place of joint family property. The mere expression of opinion to live separate constituted separation—notional separation. In these cases, property devolved not by survivorship but by succession.

Our ancestors lived in open countries and contact with nature stimulated their imagination. This spirit of imagination has been introduced into the interpretation of *Smṛtis* also. The commentators changed the law as suited the circumstances. Law was administered in ancient times by kings, some of whom were themselves great Pandits, assisted by Pandits. These Pandits and commentators on *Smṛtis* voiced the contemporary public opinion and often anticipated it.

The commentators of *Smṛtis* changed the *Smṛti* rules (or religion) to suit public opinion. According to the law of *Pinḍa*, females were totally excluded from inheritance. But public opinion demanded at least some property to females. So these commentators changed law and stated that daughters can offer *pinḍas*. Thus females closely related were given right to offer *pinḍas* and consequently a share in the property. Vijñāneśvara, author of a commentary on Yājñavalkya, has gone to the length of interpreting '*pinḍa*' as the particle of the body. Thus '*Sapinḍas*' were particles of the same body and the theory of consanguinity was introduced. So the females were brought in under this interpretation by Vijñāneśvara.

Different interpretations by different commentators on the same rule gave rise to different *Smṛtis* applicable to different provinces in India. The rule of Vijñāneśvara prevails over the greater part of India. In Bengal the interpretation was different. Jimūta-vāhana stuck to the old interpretation of *pinḍa*, and so he did not bring in females. Curiously, the person who excluded females on the basis of *pinḍas* did not confer on sons ownership over property during their father's life time.

So coparceners are joint tenants in other provinces, but, in Bengal, where the Dāyabhāga School propounded by Jimūtavāhana operates, they enjoy as tenants in common.

Joint family as conceived by our old Smṛtikāras is no longer existing. The idea of notional separation has come in and the right of survivorship is practically gone. The fiction of the joint family only remains.

Widow is entitled only to maintenance in joint family. But, if sons make a partition they are enjoined to make provision for their mother according to the *Mitākṣarā*. The fiction was the compounding of her maintenance. She got one share in the property and became absolute owner of the moveables and had a life estate in the immoveables.

Subsequently, however, some schools reluctantly gave property to other females. Absolute right of females born in the family, e.g. sister and daughter, was recognised. Distinction was made between females coming into the family by marriages by Nīlakaṇṭha. Females born in the family were given absolute rights; but, even Nīlakaṇṭha did not give daughters equal share along with the sons. Daughters get some share in their father's property according to other systems. Nīlakaṇṭha gave absolute ownership to females only in the absence of males.

In Mahomedan times, judges were assisted by Pandits. Different Pandits interpreted law differently, gave different *Vyavasthās*. They could thus introduce changes. In the British period, however, changes were required to be made by legislation which involved the moving of a huge machinery. Judges cannot introduce any change in the existing Law.

The present *Mitākṣarā* Hindu Law of Joint Family is still based on the principle of taking interest by birth. Though a number of inroads are made in the law of joint family this doctrine of survivorship and interest by birth still survives. It is high time that the *Mitākṣarā* joint family should be brought on the same level as the *Dāyabhāga* Law.

In olden times, adoption was made for religious purposes. Later, adoptions began to be made for the purposes of enjoying the property. Widow gets only a starving maintenance. So she adopts a son to deprive other members from enjoying the property, not from any religious motives. Thus the whole religious background was taken away and secular interests set in. Litigations began to pour in for the sake of the property in adoption on technical grounds.

Vesting and divesting of the property are English notions which have been introduced into the Hindu Law of Adoption. The ideas were foreign to Hindu, juries and consequently the law of adoption is hopelessly confused. In a recent decision, adoption was not divested as it had already vested in another's hands. Thus the adopted son becomes son for the purpose of offering *piṇḍas*, but not for purposes of getting property. And this diversity between

the two has been introduced by a Privy Council decision, which still regards adoption as based on a religious motive. Now the result will be that though the adopted person be the son, he may not get the property. This state of affairs was not intended by the original writers.

It is interesting to trace the evolution of ideas by Nibandhakāras. Economic conditions have changed the prevailing notions. In ancient times, there were eight forms of marriage. Later on, marriage in the same caste was enjoined. Caste is really a social institution and played a prominent part in the Hindu Law. At first, monogamy was preached ; but later on, owing to economic conditions, marrying other wives was allowed. For religious purposes only *patnī* (one wife) was recognised. Subsequently, polygamy became the general rule. Anuloma marriages (i.e. marriage with lower caste females) though reprehensible according to the *Smṛtis*, are held valid in Bombay. Pratiloma marriages (i.e. marriages with lower caste males) were still invalid. The *Smṛtis* prescribed different rights for sons by different marriages.

Some reforms in Hindu Law introduced by Judges consisted in the interpretation of the old texts by them as merely recommendatory and not obligatory.

Contact with the West has been responsible for the incursion on the Statute Book of a number of Acts dealing with the Hindu Law. The principal among them are : Removal of Caste Disabilities Act, XXI of 1850 ; Widow Remarriage Act, XV of 1856 ; Special Marriage Act, III of 1872 and its Amendment, XXX of 1923 and the Aryan Marriages Act.

The Special Marriages Act originally applied to those who professed neither Hinduism, Buddhism, etc : it was meant for the Brahmos. The amendment to the Act moved by Dr. Gour, made it applicable to the Hindus also. Thus though a person marrying under the Special Act remained a Hindu, in matters of Succession, he was governed by the Indian Succession Act. The Act insisted on monogamy. The recently passed Aryan Marriages Act, however, is a retrograde measure as it involves no question of monogamy.

Hindu Law at present is in a hopelessly confused state. It is divergent for different provinces. Bills in conflicting provisions are at present set forth before the Central and various provincial legislatures. So, there would be different laws for different provinces. This would be a retrograde step in the evolution of one Hindu Law for all Hindus. There should be a uniform Hindu Law for the whole of India. The differences in rules about adoption, succession etc., obtaining at present should be done away with. The study of the evolution of Hindu Law has not only an academic interest, but a practical utility also in settling the various anomalies with which it bristles at present.

THE PARTHIANS*

By

DR. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., PH.D., BAR-AT-LAW

Alexander's conquest of Irān marks a clear point of change in the history of that country. For five centuries after the downfall of Darius III the history of that vast region is more or less chaotic. These centuries constitute clearly a period of transition, during which all sorts of influences, social, political and religious, had been working upon Irān and at the end of the Parthian age we get the new world of Irān under the Sāsānians. Though this new Irān was Zoroastrian, it was no longer the *pure* Aryan ideals of the Achæmenian days that guided this second Zoroastrian Empire. The intervening five centuries had transformed those ancient ideals very considerably. There is yet another difference between the Achæmenian Empire and that of the Sāsānians. The former had no formidable rival in the West—at least none of whom they might be afraid—until Alexander came and conquered Irān. But by the time the Sāsānians came Rome had come to the zenith of her power and had indeed passed it. The rivalries of these two great peoples—Roman and Iranian—form the main theme of the political history of Irān from the first century B.C. right upto the Arab conquest.

Another very noteworthy point about the history of this so-called "Parthian" age is that except for coins there is scarcely any indigenous record. Most of our knowledge of Parthian history has to be gleaned from Western Sources.¹

It is indeed a matter of surprise that in the *Shāhnāmeḥ*, the national Epic of Irān, the whole of this period should have been allotted only 40 lines. It is not that these five centuries were lacking in men of outstanding character and abilities. Firdausī does mention a few names, but they are not the greatest we know in this period, and besides his information is nothing more than the name alone. It is certainly not the fault of Firdausī but of the original Pahlavī source which served him as a guide. Mas'ūdī the Arab chro-

* Extension Lecture, delivered on Aug. 26, 1939.

1. Till quite recently Western—mainly Roman—works were our only sources of Parthian history. Recently we have had references discovered in Chinese records and in various Central Asian relics. The whole history of this period has yet to be written in full. In English there is of course Rawlinson's standard work on the *Seven Oriental Monarchies*. Then there is a volume on *Parthia* in the *Story of the Nations*, series by G. RAWLINSON. *The Cambridge Ancient History* has several chapters on Parthia in vols. IX-XI, which embody the latest views on the subject with very good maps, and chronological tables, and bibliography. I have not touched upon the Indo-Parthian kingdoms in this paper as these are not primarily concerned with Irān.

nicler² commenting upon this makes an ingenious suggestion. "There is a great difference between the opinion of the Persians and that of other people with reference to the epoch of Alexander, which most folk have not noticed. It is one of the secrets of the religion and royal policy and is known only to the most erudite among the priests. . . . It is this. Zoroaster. . . . announces that in three centuries the empire of the Persian will experience a great revolution, without destruction to the religion, but that at the end of a thousand years, starting from the same epoch, that of Zoroaster, the empire and religion will perish together³. Now between Zoroaster and Alexander there are about three hundred years. . . . Ardashīr son of Pāpak, possessed himself of the empire . . . about five hundred years after Alexander. We see then that there remained not more than two hundred years or thereabouts before the completion of the thousand years of the prophecy. Ardashīr wished to augment by two hundred years this space of time. . . . because he feared that when a hundred years should have elapsed after him men would refuse aid to the King to repulse his enemies, owing to their belief in the truth of the tradition relating to the future ruin of the empire. To obviate this he retrenched about half the time that had elapsed between Alexander and himself, and accordingly only made mention of a certain number of the Part Kings⁴. . . . and suppressed the remainder. Then he took pains to disseminate in his empire that he had made his appearance and possessed himself of the rule two hundred and sixty years after Alexander".⁵

Firdausī depending entirely on Pahlavī authorities "knew absolutely nothing save a few names and the semi-mythical circumstances attendant on the coming into being of the. . . Sāsānian Empire Firdausī took his authorities as he found them, and long before his days Iranian tradition already had assigned all of the heroic or noteworthy that had remained in memory of Ashkānian⁶ times to the mythical epochs of the Pishdādian and Kaiānian dynasties. He spoke of the ancient paladīns (Pahlavāns), he told at large the gests of Kāran, Gūdarz, Gīv, Bizhan and others, but had no notion that he was dealing with words, names, personalities and subject-matter, that had originated in a period dismissed by him in a few couplets as a legendary blank".⁷

When Alexander conquered Īrān (B.C. 331) the religion of Zarathushtra ceased to be the state religion, but there was no hindrance offered by the con-

2. Flourished in the first half of the tenth century A.D.

3. This is from the *Dinkart*, a work written *after the Arab conquest*. The period of "a thousand years" is not to be taken literally but in the general sense of a cultural epoch.

4. The *mulūk-i tawāif* (tribal kings) of Firdausī.

5. MAYNARD and COURTEILLE, *Trans. of Mas'ūdī*, IX. 327, quoted in A. G. and E. WARNER's *Shāhnāmeh*, Vol. VI, p. 252.

6. This is the name given by Firdausī to the period we now call "Parthian".

7. WARNER, *Shāhnāmeh*, Vol. V, pp. 139f. The matter is also discussed by them at length in Vol. III, pp. 8ff.

querors to its observance. It had already been corrupted a lot from its original purity and a lot of superstitions had crept into it owing to the influences of the many backward races of the empire with whom the Iranian people had necessarily come into contact. Still in Pars itself, the homeland of the Achæmenians, the ancient observances and the purer beliefs had persisted. The greatest loss to Zoroastrianism resulting from Alexander's conquest was the burning of the holy Scriptures which perished with the great buildings at Persepolis. We are told that there was another copy of these sacred texts preserved elsewhere too.⁸ But tradition says that this was carried off by the Greeks. We have no definite knowledge of this. But one thing is certain that the ancient religion was preserved more or less intact by the priests of Pars. A dynasty of Priest-Kings ruled in semi-independence at Persepolis through these five centuries⁹ and they kept alive Zoroastrianism in Pars after it had disappeared from other parts of Īrān in all but the name.

We can here consider only briefly and in the barest outline the state of religious thought in Īrān during these five centuries. There were religious influences pouring into the land from all quarters, and in the absence of a dominating state-religion we find that we get a sort of good-natured tolerance at best. Mostly the impression is that of a more or less complete indifference towards religion. It was—as far as Īrān was concerned—as if foreign influences were moulding the religious ideals of the people and a new milieu was being prepared into which revived Zoroastrianism was to be born. Sāsānian Zoroastrianism is very different in many ways from the religion which the great Achæmenians had accepted and had practised in their lives. We cannot appreciate the later phase unless we realise the influences which continuously worked upon the people during the Parthian period.

In the first place we get the completion of the hellenising process which had already begun in Īrān under the later Achæmenians. This hellenising permeated every activity in the life of the people. In a way it seems to have been far deeper than the anglicising of modern India. This influence is seen in every relic of that period that has been discovered. The few inscriptions discovered, the coins (upto the accession of Valkhash III), the architecture, all show complete Greek domination. In religious thought Greek philosophy and Greek ideals dominated, and the ancient Zoroastrian divinities were equated to Greek deities corresponding. Thus we get *Zeus ōromazdes* and *Hercules Artagnes* (*Verethraghna*)¹⁰ and Apollo was clearly equated to Mithra.¹¹

About a century after Alexander the Romans came upon the scene and with them came Roman military culture. With their advent the worship of

8. The late Sir. J. J. Modi has discussed this in one of his numerous papers. It seems that there might have been several copies extant during the Achæmenian rule. The *Dinkart* (IV. 23) mentions these.

9. See CLEMENT HUART, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilisation*, pp. 111f.

10. Vedic वृत्रहन्.

11. See CUMONT'S works on *Mithraism* for further details.

Mithra acquired a new significance. Mithra was no longer coupled with Anāhitā, but, ruling alone as the *Sol invictus* of the Roman legions and as the Lord of the Warriors, his worship dominated Īrān practically throughout the remainder of the Parthian period.¹² Mithraism became the dominant faith of Asia Minor and of a large part of the Roman Empire during the latter part of the Parthian period.

Next we have to consider the Semitic faiths. The ancient religion of Babylon had certainly disappeared, but a considerable amount of their Star-worship survived, together with their astrology. These had a considerable vogue among the masses in Mesopotamia and from this centre these beliefs spread all over the Parthian Empire. Many ancient Babylonian superstitions, particularly their magic and their demonology, had also survived and these too helped to mould the beliefs of the Parthian period.

Judaism also seems to have influenced the popular belief to some extent. Particularly the code of ritual purity as laid down in the Pentateuch seems to have influenced later ideas about ceremonial purity very largely. But we must also remember that the code of the Pentateuch was put into its present form at Babylon under the fostering care of the Achæmenian King of Kings Artaxerxes I.¹³ The Sāsānian idea of the evil spirit, Āhirman, as the opponent of Ahura-Mazda is very different from that contained in the Gāthās;¹⁴ and the similarity of Āhriman with the Rebel-Angel Satan is exceedingly striking.

Christianity came into prominence by the end of the first century of the Christian era. The form of Christianity that most influenced Iranian thought in its early days was the mystic aspect which later blossomed forth as Neo-Platonism and we see clear signs of this in the teachings of Mānī almost at the beginning of the Sāsānian period. As an active influence, however, Christianity came into Iranian thought after the Parthian period.

From the East came the very profound influence of Buddhism. The missionaries of Aśoka had spread all over Eastern Īrān and Buddhism had acquired a permanent footing there by the time the Parthian monarchy had started. The intricate philosophy and the monasticism of that faith did have influence on Iranian thought for a considerable period.¹⁵

Buddhism in Eastern Īrān had remained almost as pure as it had been brought over from India. But there was another stream of Buddhism which more directly affected the Parthians. It was the Tibetan Buddhism. In Tibet

12. This is evidenced by the name *Mihrdāt* (Mithridates) borne by so many great rulers of the period. Even today the Zoroastrian temples bear the name of *Dar-e-Meher* (lit., the House of Mithra).

13. See my article on "The Achæmenians" in the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, I. 1, p. 62.

14. Particularly as developed in *Hā* 30.

15. The wide acceptance of Mānī's teaching in Īrān may be instanced. The strongly opposed Zoroastrian teaching of *active life in the world*, however, very soon turned Īrān away from Mānī.

Buddhistic teachings had undergone very strange transformations. The ancient faith of the Lamas, their belief in hordes of evil spirits who had to be placated, gave rise to an extraordinarily rich demonology in Tibetan Buddhism. The Parthian nomads thus got their Buddhistic influences diluted with Tibetan demonology and these beliefs persisted all through the Parthian period.

The situation of the capital of the Parthian rulers had also considerable influence in moulding the religious ideas of the people. The shifting of the capital to Ctesiphon brought the rulers and the higher officials into more intimate contact with Semitic people. The earlier capital was on the edge of the steppes where the primitive nomadic ideas and superstitions had sway. With the shifting of the capital to Ctesiphon Semitic thought begins to dominate.¹⁶

Thus we see that Iranian thought, particularly religious, had a number of varied influences bearing upon it from all directions ; and for nearly five centuries these influences continued and helped to mould the thought of the definitely Zoroastrian Irān of the Sāsānians. Zoroastrianism had continued to flourish during all these years in Pars undisturbed by the turmoil raging round the western and eastern frontiers of Irān.

In the beginning of the Parthian period the main political interest centres round the rivalries of the various kingdoms which arose out of the break up of the Seleucid Empire and later Parthian history is overshadowed by Rome in the west and the bitter struggle between Rome and Irān over Armenia. In all these struggles Zoroastrianism as such was not directly involved and continued in the sort of backwater that Pars had become. When the reviva! came at the end of the Parthian period and when Zoroastrianism emerged as a political force once again in Irān, it had to struggle against all these foreign influences which had got rooted in Irān and was undoubtedly very profoundly influenced by them.

The Empire of Alexander, which was somewhat larger than that of the Achæmenians, broke up immediately upon his death in B.C. 323. Of his generals only Seleukos remained true to Alexander's family and jealously guarded Irān and all the eastern provinces of the empire for the infant son of the great conqueror. But very soon (by B.C. 311) the whole family of Alexander had been wiped out. Seleukos now felt that he was released from the oath of allegiance he had sworn to the dying Alexander, and he assumed the insignia of royalty and set up the Seleucid Empire which won fame for him and brought him the title Nikator (the Conqueror). He ruled long and gloriously and at last retired in favour of his son because he desired to end his days in his beloved native land. But he was murdered before he reached it—B.C. 281.

16. The steady dominance of Aryan thought throughout the Achæmenian period is no doubt due in a great measure to the capital having always remained at Persepolis, the centre of Aryan Irān. Neither would Zoroastrianism have survived throughout the Parthian period at any other centre but at Pars and Persepolis.

The successors of Seleukos had no easy time, for they had very powerful rivals on the western and northern flanks of their empire. For the next few decades their history is a welter of bloody wars and changing fortunes, made more confusing by similar names borne by successive rulers. Out of all these wars there emerged in the end six large kingdoms : Bythinia, Pontus, Armenia, Media Atropatene, Bactria and Parthia. This was about B.C. 249.

The kingdom of Parthia was founded by two brothers Arshak¹⁷ and Tīrdāt. They were Irānī by descent and probably Zoroastrians, though by no means orthodox, and had come more or less in search of careers to the court of the Greek ruler of Bactria. After serving there for some time they felt aggrieved and left Bactria. The two brothers then went among the Parthian clans and after some years Arshak placed himself at the head of a confederacy of all the Parthian clans and declared his independence (B.C. 249). Exactly how he did this is shrouded in mystery and the man himself has become a legendary figure. After his death in B.C. 247 his brother Tīrdāt assumed the title of Arshak II and he might be regarded as the real founder of the Parthian line.

The Parthians were originally a semi-wild nomadic race of mixed blood. They lived in the steppes to the east of the Caspian and were probably closely connected with the Sakas. Their language, too, was presumably Iranian, allied to the Soghdian.¹⁸ The Parthians have been mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius the Great and they are known to have served in the army of Alexander as archers.

They were not all pure nomads. Some sort of settled life seems to have already begun among them when Arshak welded them together. The first capital was at Dārā. Nisā was another important city to the south of the capital and about 100 miles from it, where the early Parthian monarchs were crowned.¹⁹ There was also an important shrine of Fire at Asaak²⁰ on the river Atrek.²¹ This was the shrine connected with the Fire of the Farmer (Ādar-Burzīn-Mihr).²² "This marks a certain progress in ideas; to the connection with the desert is added the conciliation of the Mazdean religion of the settled lands. For at Asaak the holy fire, used at the coronation, was kept

17. The romanised form of his name is Arsaces and so these rulers are called the Arsacids. The first few rulers were all called Arshak after the founder.

18. See *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. IX, Chap. xiv, (pp. 574ff.).

19. Dara was about 300 miles to the east of the Caspian and 100 miles from Merv. Nisā might be identified with the *Nisāya* mentioned in the Avesta, *Vandīdād* I. 7.

20. The original form seems to have been *Arshakia* (Arsacia) after the name of the founder.

21. See map facing page 612 in Vol. IX, of *CAH*.

22. This was the third of the great Sacred Fires of ancient Irān. The other two were the Fire of the Warrior (Ādar-Goshasp), situated in Media Atropatene (Ādarbaijān), and the Fire of the Priest (Ādar-Frōbāk) in Pars. These Fires have been closely associated with "the Royal Glory" of Irān. See *Nyāish*, 5 and *Bundahishn* 17.

burning for ever, undoubtedly ... it was connected with the Farmer's Fire, Ādar-Burzīn-Mihr on Mt. Raēvant, one of the three sacred and eternal fires of later Zoroastrianism."²³ This consecration of the Fire of the Farmer "was no bad omen for the commencement of a state whose background was to be the revolt of the countryman against the Greek and Graeco-Babylonian city",²⁴

No native records of the Arshkanian kings have been discovered beyond the large number of coins. It seems indeed strange that these rulers should have failed utterly to have kept a chronicle of their own even though an Arshak era was established at Babylon and even though under the influence of the prevailing hellenic culture the rulers adopted hellenic ways of life and thought, and called themselves "phil-hellene". Perhaps this very hellenism might have induced them to have their history recorded in Greek, for we have fairly copious records of the Parthian Empire written down by Greek writers.²⁵

But whatever the individual kings may have been, the people themselves retained their strong native characteristics. These were their strong attachment to the land, their warrior spirit and their good natured tolerance in matters of religion. This last was due chiefly to their ignorance and also partly to their confidence in their own prowess as warriors.²⁶

The first Arshak rulers had to struggle hard to maintain their position between the rival states. They were badly wedged in between the Seleucid and the Graeco-Bactrian kingdoms. It was Mihrdāt I (B.C. 174-136) who first adopted the title of "King of Kings" and established the Parthian Empire. In fact it is he who deserves the title "the Great" rather than Mihrdāt II (B.C. 124-87), though the achievements of the latter were more spectacular and impressed his foreign contemporaries much more.

This first Mihrdāt laid the foundations both of the Parthian government as well as of its military organisation. The machinery of state under the Arshkanians consisted of the King and two Councils. The King was in theory, and very often in fact also, an absolute ruler. But the two Councils did exercise very real functions all through the long history of this house. The one important factor ever present was loyalty to the house of Arshak.²⁷ Of the two Councils one was composed of the aristocracy, and it was called *Probouloi* by the Greeks and the other one was of the Magi (the learned priests and doctors of religion) which was known as the *Magistān*. Immediately below the royal family of Arshak stood seven noble families among whom the Kārēn²⁸ and the

23. *CAH.*, Vol. IX, p. 575.

24. *Loc. cit.*

25. *CAH.*, Vol. IX, p. 596, gives a good list of these.

26. The same sort of good-natured tolerance for religion, due to the same causes, was to be found in Chengiz Khan and his Mongols also.

27. In the long list of kings (see end of this paper) even the usurpers claimed to be related by blood to Arshak. The only doubtful case seems to be Sinātrukes (B.C. 77-70).

28. Firdausī has used this as the name of an individual warrior.

Suriēn were the most famous. The head of the latter house had the right of crowning the King of Kings. The *Magistān* was the more important of the two Councils and exercised very real powers in times of crisis. They had the power of dethroning tyrannical rulers and they had used this power a fair number of times. Their chief function, however, was deliberative and advisory. Its members were wise men learned in the ancient traditions and they exercised a very real check on the vagaries of the King, for they were men of great repute and influence among the people. In the case of the sons and grandsons of Frahāt IV, who were brought up entirely at Rome, the *Magistān* set aside more than one of them because of their foreign ways and outlook.

But the strength of Parthia was chiefly military. The race was one of sturdy fighters. All through their history the Parthian soldiers clung to their desert traits and never succumbed to the lures of city life and luxuries. They were most remarkable horsemen and they have been described as "living on horseback". The veterans of Rome dashed in vain against Parthian armies. The defeat of Carrhæ (B.C. 53) was one of the worst in Roman history. The Parthians excelled in military tactics. They knew how to retreat and to lure the enemy far away from his base. This was done three times in later Parthian history when Trajan, Severus and Caracalla were lured as far as Ctesiphon and their victories were turned into disastrous retreats. As archers the Parthians were unequalled in their day. Their ability to shoot while retreating at full gallop has become proverbial.

The Parthian empire was not an empire in the sense we understand the word. It was more a loose conglomerate of states each of them more or less independent. There was no special organisation—like the satrapies of the Achæmenian Empire—to hold the states together. Some attempt had been made to imitate the methods of the Seleucid Empire to hold these states together, but it was at best but half-hearted. The states were allowed full liberty in internal matters. They had only one thing in common, viz., fealty to Parthia, and that could always be enforced because Parthia was by far the strongest of all.

The official language of the Parthian court seems to have been Greek as evidenced by the coins. The art displayed in these shows very clear Greek influences. The figures on these coins are entirely Greek in dress and the legends are Greek right upto the time of Valkhash III (A.D. 147-191). With that monarch we get Pahlavī legends for the first time. Of course the Parthians had their own language which seems to have been an Iranian tongue closely allied to the ancient Soghdian. In the absence of any literary remains this can be proved indirectly from its influence (in the shape of borrowed words, etc.) on Armenian and Soghdian. Parthians were also among those who used parchment rather extensively, which is further indirect evidence of the existence of writers and literature among them.

The centre of the Parthian Empire was in the beginning in the steppes to

the east of the Caspian and then it shifted to Media Atropatene. Later on the capital was shifted to Mesopotamia ; this was on account of the necessity of being nearer the Roman border. The city of Babylon was still existing as a centre of trade and of great intellectual activity. But city-life never suited the true Parthian. He wanted open spaces and gardens. So a new site was chosen where Seleucia had stood. The new city was called Ctesiphon and Strabo mentions that it had a good climate. The city continued to be the capital of the Sāsānian Empire upto its conquest by the Arabs.²⁹

As far as the people of Īrān were concerned the rule of the Arshaks meant merely a change of masters from the Greeks to the Parthians. And the latter were certainly more welcome because the royal family was Iranian in blood and Mazdean in religion. The popular religion of these nomads from the steppes continued in a more refined form by contact with the more cultured Iranians. The cult of the Fire took firmer hold and the cruder Sun-worship of the nomads was replaced by the more ethical Mithraism. The toleration of the Parthian overlords in matters religious allowed the semi-independent Iranians of the kingdom of Pars to keep their Zoroastrian beliefs undisturbed. Zoroastrianism was at that time not militant but was content to be left alone. It was biding its time.

Valkhash is mentioned in Pahlavi books as the monarch to begin the Zoroastrian revival. Of the five rulers of that name he is most probably the first of that name (A.D. 51-77), because he was imbued with the virtue of kindness and real affection for his brothers, so rare in his family. His justice and his desire for peaceful relations with his neighbours indicate a deeply religious mind, and it is not impossible that such a man under the influence of the Magi thought of the revival of the ancient faith of Īrān. Indeed Darmesteter, quoting Tacitus, definitely thinks that Valkhash was influenced by his brother Tīrdāt, king of Armenia.³⁰ Tīrdāt himself was a Zoroastrian priest.³¹ Valkhash "had the glory of breaking with the family policy of Parthian kings",³² the policy, namely, of greed and lust of blood. The *Dinkart*³³ and the Pahlavī tradition clearly state that "Valkhash, the descendant of Ashkān, ordered that the whole of the Avesta and Zand, as they had come down in their purity, whatever fragments thereof had escaped the destruction and ravages of Alexander and the Roman soldiers in the Iranian country, and remained partly in writings and partly in oral tradition, with the Dasturs, should be searched for, in each town

29. The Arabs called it Al Madāin (lit. "twin-cities") because it stands on both banks of the Tigris.

30. Tīrdāt received the crown of Armenia at the hands of the Emperor Nero of Rome, thus avoiding a long war. This is a most striking instance of the peaceful nature of Valkhash and the influence of religion working on him.

31. Darmesteter's Introduction to the *Vanidād* (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. IV, pp. xxxiv. ff.). Note 1 on p. xxxv, is particularly illuminating.

32. Quoted by Darmesteter (*loc. cit.*) from Tacitus.

33. *Dinkart*, IV. 24. The *Zand-i-Vohuman Yasht*, IV, 19, refers to this without naming the king.

he came to, and taken possession of, for the emperor (i.e. for the imperial library) ".³⁴

This new move by Valkhash aroused the keenest interest and the liveliest hopes in Pars, which had continued to be the stronghold of Zoroaster's faith throughout. Undoubtedly the priest-kings of Pars took a leading part in helping Valkhash in this pious task. But the work thus begun was not destined to be brought to complete fruition. The successors of Valkhash abandoned his policy of peace and reverted to the traditional practice of the Parthians of fratricidal strife and war with Rome. As a result, three times within one century, the Romans entered Ctesiphon and sacked it—under Trajan in A. D. 114, under Severus in A. D. 197 and under Caracalla in A. D. 216. On all these three occasions the Romans ultimately suffered crushing defeats and were driven back, but still Īrān felt it as a terrible insult to her national honour, for now the Iranian national awakening had started. They had so long been content to hold Pars and to follow their religious observances undisturbed. But the revival of Zoroastrianism stirred the dormant nationalism and religious fervour in their hearts. They had begun to visualise a rejuvenated Īrān, fired with zeal for the ancient religion of Zarathushtra, rising and becoming the mistress of all western Asia. The Parthian yoke, borne so long without complaint—just because it was so light—now began to gall their newly awakened religious sensibility. The Parthian kings were Zoroastrian only in name and did not observe any of the rules of the faith. In particular the consent of Ardavān IV to give his daughter in marriage to the "heathen" Emperor Caracalla was felt to be an unpardonable affront to the holy faith. The manners and customs of the Parthians, tolerated so long, now began to aggravate the ill feeling of the Iranians against them. All the discontent simmering underground for over a century now burst forth in the open revolt of Ardashīr Pāpakān of the house of Sāsān against the last Parthian monarch Ardavān IV. The rival forces met on the battle-field of Hormuz in September A.D. 226 and Ardashīr was victorious, and the Empire of the Sāsānians began its glorious career lasting for four centuries.

A list of Parthian monarchs is appended here. It may be noted that the dates of most are only approximate. The names enclosed in brackets are "rival" monarchs.

Arshak (B.C. 249-247); Tīrdāt³⁵ (B.C. 247-214); Ardavān I (B.C. 214-196); Priyapātus (B.C. 196-181); Frahāt I (B.C. 181-174); Mīhradāt I³⁶ (B.C. 174-136); Frahāt II (B.C. 136-128); Ardavān II (B.C. 128-124); [Himerus ?

34. Translation by Haug in his *Essay on Pahlavi*, p. 146. The word "Zand" means "commentary". The word "Roman" was the common appellation of Pahlavī writers for all westerners. Haug also gives the original passage on p. 150 of the same work. E. W. West also gives a rendering of this important passage in *SBE.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 413.

35. He was the real founder of the Parthian rule.

36. Perhaps the greatest of the Parthian kings. He was the first to assume the title "King of Kings."

(124 ?)]; Mihrdāt II³⁷ (124-87); [Gūdarz (B.C. 90-87)]; [? (unnamed) (B.C. 87-86)]; [Hurodh (80)]; Sinātrukes³⁸ (B.C. 78-70); Frahāt III (B.C. 70-57); [? (unnamed) (68 ?)]; [Hurodh (B.C. 57-56)]; Mihradāt III (B.C. 56-55); Hurodh I³⁹ (B.C. 55-37); Frahāt IV⁴⁰ (B.C. 37-A.D. 2); Hurodh II (A.D. 2-8); Vanona I (A.D. 8-11); Ardavān III (A.D. 11-40); Vardana (A.D. 40-41); Gūdarz⁴¹ (A.D. 41-51); Vanona II (A.D. 51); Valkhash I⁴² (A.D. 51-77); [Valkhash (A.D. 77-79)]; [Ardavān (A.D. 79-80)]; Pakorus (A.D. 77-106); Husrav (A.D. 106-130); Valkhash II (A.D. 130-147); Valkhash III⁴³ (A.D. 147-191); Valkhash IV (A.D. 191-208); Valkhash V (A.D. 208-215); Ardavān IV⁴⁴ (A.D. 215-226).

37. He is usually surnamed "the Great" because of his prowess in battle, but the title really should have been given to Mihrdāt I.

38. A period of anarchy prevailed after the death of Mihrdāt the Great and this resulted in a slaughter of most of the family of Arshak. The *Magistān* at last found out Sinātrukes who was then an old man of over eighty. But he was full of vigour and re-established peace and order.

39. He was the visitor of Carrhæ (B.C. 53).

40. Frahāt IV was one of the worst tyrants among the Parthians. He made friends with Rome and sent all his sons to be educated there in the care of the Emperor. On the strength of that friendship he defied the nobles and the *Magistān* in Parthia. His mistress was the infamous Musa whom he had brought from Rome. He had her effigy put upon his coins.

41. Among bloodthirsty tyrants Gudarz might take the first place. He seems to have murdered most of his near relatives, including his father Ardavān III.

42. The gentlest and most just of the Arshkanians was Valkhash. He loved his brothers and made two of them kings of the semi-independent states under himself. Tirdāt, king of Armenia, was his brother and also a priest. It was probably under his influence that Valkhash set about collecting the ancient texts of Zoroastrianism.

43. Valkhash III gave its rightful place to the language of the country by making Pahlavi the language to be used on coins, thus ousting Greek. Henceforth Greek disappears from Iranian coins and inscriptions.

44. Valkhash V and Ardavan IV were brothers and they had quarrelled upon the death of their father. They agreed at last to divide the empire into two parts the western being the share of the elder brother Valkhash V. Ardavān IV ruled in the east until A.D. 208 when, on the death of his brother, he became the undisputed King of Kings.

A NEW APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF MIDDLE AND MODERN INDO-ARYAN

By

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• From the earliest times it has been the practice of Indian Grammarians to consider Sanskrit as the original base from which both Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan languages derive their life-blood. From Vararuci to Mārkaṇḍeya the term *prākṛta* has been derived from the word *prakṛti* which invariably stands for some form of Sanskrit, generally classical, forming the background of the different stages of the Aryan speech in its historical development.¹ As a result of this Sanskrit approach dominated the whole field of Indo-Aryan grammar, and until the advent of European Missionaries in India no grammar of an Indo-Aryan language could escape the terminology or influence of Sanskrit grammar. The early and medieval studies in Prakrit Grammar were naturally restricted to instituting a comparison of the Prakrit forms with corresponding Sanskrit forms and drawing a sort of correspondences which would guide a Sanskritist to arrive at the Prakrit equivalents required. To this extent Prakrit grammar has suffered from the Sanskrit influence. No attempt was made to study any Prakrit dialect independently as a language, and it is remarkable that there is no Prakrit Grammar in the Prakrit language. With respect to Pāli this charge cannot be sustained, but there is ample evidence to prove that these orthodox Pāli grammarians were indebted to the different schools of Sanskrit grammar for their own studies.

As a result of this strict classical approach we find such equations in the Prakrit Grammars as Pk. *khambha* < Sk. *stambha* in opposition to Vedic *skambha*.² This is surprising since the roots *stabh-* and *stambh-* are cited in company with *skabh-*, *skambh-* in Pāṇini and in other grammarians' works. The number of such examples, where the Prakrit grammarians lost sight of earlier Vedic words and therefore posited new correspondences which cannot really bear the light of comparative grammar, is sufficiently large to show that the method adopted by them was not strictly scientific. It was more the *practical* aspect of such correspondences which they could establish with their ordinary personal knowledge of classical Sanskrit in arriving at the required Prakrit forms that guided their methodology. No scientific knowledge of the Prakrits was aimed at. The *practical* aim was more than sufficient to satisfy their curiosity or thirst for knowledge.

1. Cf. PISCHEL, § 1.

2. *Ibid.*, § 306, p. 210, referring to Var. 3, 14, Bhāmaha 3, 50, Caṇḍa 3, 10, 10, Hemacandra 1, 187 ; 2, 8. 89 ; Ki. 2, 77, etc.

The shortcomings of such a method are also seen in the large numbers of *dhātuvādesas* or *deśi* words which could normally be derived from Old Indo-Aryan sources. But unfortunately this has not been properly recognized till now. The two approaches which have been current during the early part of this century are seen in PISCHEL'S *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*³ and GEIGER'S *Pali Literatur und Sprache*.⁴ A large part of these works is more or less descriptive—a very laudable thing in itself, for there are no other descriptive grammars of either languages better known than these—but interspersed with comparative notes. None of these is a purely linguistic grammar. A pure linguistic approach will naturally take into account the entire comparative development of Old and Middle Indo-Aryan which can only interest a linguist in general, but not the students of Prakrit languages. It will assume on their part a deep knowledge of OI-A. which most of them lack, and its appeal will therefore be limited to students of Vedic and classical Sanskrit literatures only. If the science of comparative grammar has been properly applied to the entire group of Old, Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan, it will also show the possibility of studying Middle Indo-Aryan from two different points of view. MI-A. may then be considered as derivable from OI-A. and a sound knowledge of OI-A. coupled with the knowledge of correspondences existing between them will enable a scholar to understand, interpret or even write in the idiom with which he deals at the time ; it may also be considered in its turn as the basis from which the modern Indo-Aryan languages have developed and a knowledge of the correspondences existing between MI-A. and NI-A. languages will help the speakers of any NI-A. language to understand, interpret or even write tolerably in the particular MI-A. speech with which they concern themselves.

It is this latter aspect which forms the subject of the present paper. So far no systematic attempt has been made to approach the study of Prakrits from this point of view. It is both practical as well as scientific, and it serves two purposes at the same time : (a) it makes the study of the Prakrits less tiresome and (b) it inculcates at the same time a scientific approach to one's own mother-tongue, making researches into its origin both pleasurable and *practicable*. No proof is required to see that most of our students take up the study of Prakrits because Prakrit grammar is less irksome and more palatable than that of Sanskrit, although its literature is not so interesting. But at the very first contact they will find that the general approach to Prakrits insisted upon by the Universities is Sanskritic in character, requiring a fairly advanced understanding of Sanskrit Grammar. And even here, what is surprising most is that even the students of Sanskrit shun the Prakrits which abound in Sanskrit plays and make use of the *chāyā* only. Neither the Universities in India nor the teachers concerned seem interested in the fate of Prakrit studies by scholars of Sanskrit most competent to under-

3. Strassburg, 1900. = Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde I, 8.

4. Strassburg, 1916. Grund. I-A. Phil. u. Alt. I, 7.

stand them with the aid of their Sanskritic approach, but insist upon this knowledge as the pre-requisite for Prakrit studies by Prakrit students who are driven to the subject because of their incompetence in Sanskrit. Here is a contradiction in terms which seems to me to be due chiefly to the lack of the proper understanding of the problems involved. A corrective is needed if the scientific study of Prakrits as well as the modern I-A. languages has to find a place in the Indian world of scholarship. With the revival of these languages to the national status which is their due the time has come when every scholar using these languages should possess not only a complete mastery of the literary medium but also a deep insight into its origin and development.

The approach which I indicate here has the merit of all scientific approaches to different subjects, that of going to the unknown on the solid basis of the known. A student of New Indo-Aryan languages possesses in the first place a requisite knowledge of his own mother tongue. If this happens to be a literary language, he has in addition the ability to read, write and appreciate good literature in that language, by the time he grows old enough to start the study of the Prakrits. This is a source which has never been tapped hitherto, so rich in potentialities if only a proper method strictly controlled by science is discovered.

The science of Comparative Grammar or Linguistics teaches us the correspondences which exist between a related group of languages, divided into different compartments such as Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Semantics Vocabulary and even Phonetics. If such correspondences between Old and Middle Indo-Aryan help us in restoring one with the knowledge of the other, then correspondences existing between Middle and New Indo-Aryan should establish for us an easy way towards the study of Middle Indo-Aryan. But there are difficulties in the way which we must face, for mere reconstructions of earlier forms on the basis of existing forms in NI-A. may not always give us the proper MI-A. forms. Strictly speaking we cannot reconstruct properly the exact working forms of an earlier stage by knowing the general correspondences between the earlier and the later. What is to be aimed at is the general tendency in the earlier stage which gave rise to the later formations. In this manner a practical knowledge of one's own mother tongue may be combined with scientific linguistics to study the interrelationship between the present language and its earlier forms and draw one's own conclusions about the correspondences and the nature of the earlier idiom.

Taking into account the different groups or branches of linguistics we shall be able to trace correspondences between Prakrits and modern Indo-Aryan languages in phonology, morphology, vocabulary and syntax. The most important of these for our purpose is vocabulary ; for it is easy to master the descriptive grammar of any Prakrit within a short time, but when it comes to writing or understanding the Prakrit a vast store of ordinary vocables or words is necessary. It is one of the fundamental principles of language study, always aimed at by students of different languages, to master the fundamental or basic vocabulary of each language. As a result most methods employ basic

vocabularies a knowledge of which is absolutely indispensable for any practical or theoretical purpose. Ordinarily a person requires about 1000 vocables to express all his common thoughts, and a slightly increased number for any literary or scientific purpose. This is about the lower limit. Coming to the problem of the Prakrit vocables, the first attempt on the part of the student after mastering the principles of elementary grammar consists in assimilating a large number of new words the origin of which is for the time being beyond his ken. If at this stage his interest is centred in noticing the resemblances between the words in his own mother tongue and the Prakrit he is studying he will find certain correspondences without being told about them. It is this ability to understand without external aid or teaching the fundamental unity within MI-A. which has given rise to a common language of interprovincial, interdialectal intercourse between widely divergent communities, in the process of being standardised to-day as Hindustani.

The analysis of Indo-Aryan vocabulary shows three distinct categories. The first is naturally the inherited, consisting of *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words. Ordinarily the word *tatsama* is understood for all such words which retain the same form in the parent and descendant stock, but in strict lines with scientific inquiry we should understand from the term only such forms as have retained the same characteristics in the course of historical evolution. Words having similar forms in two languages allied to one another need not belong to the category of inherited words. Thus corresponding to Sk. *kar-o-ti* we have in Pāli *kar-o-ti*, Pk. *kar-e-i*, Mar. *kar-ñē*, Guj. *kar-vū*, Hindi *kar-nā*, showing that the base *kar-* of Sk. has remained unchanged during the entire history of I-A. development. But Mar. *bhāg-ñā*, Guj. *bhāg-vū*, Hindi *bhāg-nā* correspond to Pk. *bhagga-* < Sk. *bhagna-* corresponding to the root *bhañj-* yielding in Pk. *bhañja-i*. This is the *tadbhava* form of an inherited word. Referring to the title of this journal we find the word *vidyā* which is universally employed in all New I-A. languages to denote 'learning'. Both Sk. and the NI-A. languages have the same word in the same form, but this is in reality not a *tatsama* word in the ordinary sense of the inherited kind. It does not belong to the same category as Sk. *kar-o-ti* : Guj. *kar-vū*. The second class may be termed a borrowed or loan-word, for the intermediary form in Prakrit literature was not *vidyā* but *vijjā*. Such loan words may belong to the parent stock as in the present case or to some other stock, as instanced by the large number of words deriving from Arabic, Persian, Portuguese and English sources which have made their incursion in the present Indo-Aryan vocabulary. The third consists of the adaptation of foreign elements of known or unknowable sources, the Deśī element as the Prakrit Grammarians termed. They are not loans or learned borrowings for they are mostly current in the uncultivated languages, but they play an important rôle in the history of MI-A. and NI-A. languages.

The inherited element in any given language constitutes roughly about 25 to 30 per cent. of its vocabulary at the lowest limit, and about 60 to 70 at the

higher limit. In his *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Nepali*⁵ TURNER has found nearly 5000 Nepali words as inherited from the corresponding Old I-A. words, while the number of words recorded in the Dictionary is about 26,000. Of course a very large number of the remaining words are either jingle formations or loan forms from Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and to some extent from English and several non-Aryan languages. The loan words from the common parent OI-A. form a very considerable part of the literary stratum of a given language, and generally vary between 30 to 70 per cent. depending upon the type of literature considered. This is chiefly due to the fact that Sanskrit has all along been the best cultivated language in India during more than 3000 years, and even the peasants are acquainted with the two great epics partly in translations and partly in original. In the uncultivated dialects we may presume at least 30 per cent. of words to be loans from Sanskrit. This gives us a rough estimate of about 60 per cent. on an average of inherited and borrowed I-A. words.

Before considering the problem further I may mention here that one of the crying needs of linguistic research is the statistical study of the vocabularies of different languages, of different periods and persons under varying circumstances, of continuous passages. This study will enable us to understand more clearly than ever before the historical and geographical aspects of linguistic development, and to formulate the minimum characteristics of a *lingua franca* which will be acceptable to all because it is not governed by personal or subjective judgment, being purely objective in its methods and precision.

The most difficult element in I-A. apart from the question of early substrata, is the Deśī element in its purest form. For the first time in Middle Indo-Aryan we meet with a large number of real Deśī words whose ultimate analysis is at present beyond the scope of linguists, but whose presence may be detected largely in the present languages of Northern India. This element will form at least 15 to 20 per cent. of the general vocabulary. It is sufficient to consider the very large number of vocables in the *Pāṣasadda-mahāṇavo*⁶ which are distinctly Deśī in character, having corresponding cognates in Hindi or Gujarati in order to gain an idea of this element in the modern languages. Together these give us about three quarters of the entire vocabulary of the languages. The remaining quarter of the modern vocabulary occupies itself chiefly with such terms for which I-A. languages had no expressions, including legal phraseology, names of places, trees, animals etc., borrowed from the languages of the rulers or neighbouring tribes.

The problem then is to discover some method by means of which the 75 per cent. inherited, loan—and Deśī element of the modern languages may be transformed into its corresponding MI-A. form. Leaving aside the Deśī element for the present the 60 per cent. of the inherited and loan-words may be

5. Kegan Paul, London, 1931.

6. Calcutta, 1923-28 :—edited by Pandit Hargovind Das T. SHETH.

transformed tolerably well with a knowledge of the comparative phonology of OI-A., MI-A. and NI-A. The inherited elements show a definite correspondence to cognate MI-A. vocables a knowledge of which is sufficient for the transformation, while the loans from Sanskrit are Sanskrit words themselves which render themselves easy for transformation once the general nature of linguistic correspondence between Sk. and Pk. is understood. No special knowledge of the complicated Sanskrit grammar is required for this purpose.

The correspondences between Sk. and Pk. or OI-A. and MI-A. may best be understood by the principles of simplification, assimilation and general linguistic development. The simplification of vocalic *r*, *l* and the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, assimilation of consonant groups, and the principles governing such assimilation : namely (a) among homorganic groups the second prevailing (e. g. *rakta*- > *ratta*-, *sapta* > *satta*-, etc.) and (b) among heterorganic groups the stronger prevailing (*kāvya* > *kavva*, *puṇya* > *puṇṇa* or Pa. *puñña* ; *putra*- > *putta*-, etc.), the weakening and gradually loss of occlusion of intervocalic single consonants, the simplification of the three sibilants to one, etc. form the general background of this correspondence. From this follows a knowledge of at least 25 per cent. MI-A. words directly inherited from OI-A. forms which occur commonly in the modern languages of Northern India. A more intelligent approach will also show the identity of several forms derived from differing sources of the earlier stage : e.g. Sk. *vidyā* > Pk. *viijā*, Apabhraṃśa *viija*-, Sk. *vidyut* > Pk. Ap. *viiju*-, which become confused with one another if separately inherited in the new I-A. stage in the shape of *vij*. In order to avoid this state of affairs NI-A. possesses only *vij* and its extensions for Sk. *vidyut*, and borrows from Sk. the word *vidyā* to express knowledge or learning.

A similar study of the correspondences between MI-A. and NI-A. helps us to understand the mode of transformation which constituted the linguistic development of MI-A. into NI-A. The principles involved are quite simple, consisting of the reduction of the final short vowels of MI-A. (Sk. *agni*- > Pk. *aggi*- ; M. G. H. *āg*, Panj. *agg*, etc.), the preservation of NI-A. final vowels due to combination of two vowels in Pk. from extended Sk. bases (Sk. *ghoṭa*- > Pk. *ghoḍa*-o : M. *ghoḍā*, H. *ghoḍā* but Guj. Koṅkaṇi *ghoḍo*-), simplification of MI-A. double consonants into single consonants with compensatory lengthening (Sk. *bhagna*- > Pk. *bhagga*- : M. G. H. *bhāg*-, Sk. *rātri* > Pk. *ratti*-, M. G. H. *rāt*, etc.) in the initial syllable, preservation of MI-A. penultimate vowels as penultimate or final vowels in NI-A. (Sk. *mṛttikā* > Pk. *mattīā* or *mattiā* > M. *māti* etc.), reduction of non-initial, non-final pre-penultimate vowels to the neutral vowel *a* (Sk. *prātipada*- : Mar. *pāḍvā* < **pāḍavā* < MI-A. **pāḍivāā* or **pāḍivaa*-). The simplicity of this correspondence may easily be gathered from such standard works as Jules BLOCH's *Formation de la langue marathe*,⁷ Suniti Kumar CHATTERJI's *Origin and Development of*

Benigali,⁸ TURNER's *Gujarati Phonology*⁹ Banarasi Das JAIN's *Phonology of Punjabi*¹⁰ and the large number of linguistic studies since then published dealing with a majority of the important literary and non-literary languages of India. A mastery of these principles then, with sufficient knowledge of the learned borrowings from Sanskrit is, so to say, the bed-rock on which the entire edifice of one's understanding of Prakrits can be built upon. From these two elements of NI-A. vocabulary we can build up at least 50 per cent. of the MI-A. vocables. To critics of this system, who will say with the Jung-grammatiker that the restitution method leads nowhere, and that SCHLEICHER's approach is hopelessly out of date, we can only point out the tradition of the Prakrit literature where we only find the transformation of Sanskrit words into corresponding Prakrit forms by the application of regular principles enunciated by the grammarians. The check on irresponsible restitution is in the number of Sk. words forming part of the NI-A. vocabulary. On certain calculations carried out by me I found that the restitution method yields more than 75 per cent. of correct MI-A. forms, and in the hands of scholars who are more deeply acquainted with Sk. grammar, the result was even higher.

It is the morphological aspect which will present some difficulties. To those who are not acquainted with the complicated grammatical system of Sanskrit, the Prakrit terminations for nominal declension or verbal conjugation may not always be the simple things which they are in reality. The simplification of the morphology in the extinction of the dual, of the bases by the reduction of consonantal themes to vocalic themes, and by the regularising of the irregular themes, results in reducing the number of possible terminations, the same often standing for different ideas. Thus in the cases of masc. nouns in -i/u, fem. nouns in -ā -ī, ū, the nom. -acc. plur. as well as ablat. sing. are formed with the termination -o, in a large majority of quotable examples. Or else the -e termination of the feminine group stands for the instr., abl. gen. and loc. singular. But once the basic terminations are mastered, we shall find hardly more than a dozen independent which really function in the language.

Similarly when we come to the verbal inflexion, we notice the number of terminations to be ridiculously simplified, with the present indicative having six terminations, the past with only one in most Prakrits, except Pāli, the future differing from the present only in its base, the imperative with really two and the optative with one effective terminations. Thus the finite forms are very simple, but the infinitive-absolutive are slightly more complicated with two or three terminations each ; and the participles are also very simple, with definite and regular endings. With the exception of the passive and causative the Prakrits have very few derivative bases. This sums up the simplicity of the MI-A. languages.

Remembering the equivalent terminations in NI-A. languages, the transformation of a Prakrit passage into a NI-A. follows the regular laws of pho-

8. Calcutta, 1926.

9. *JRAS.* 1921, pp. 329-365 ; 505-544.

10. Lahore, 1934.

nology and morphology, for in syntax the Pk. and the NI-A. are identical in most respects.

In a similar manner the student of a modern I-A. language can transform a passage in that language to one in a given Prakrit by merely transforming word by word in the first place the modern forms, replacing non-Aryan words with I-A. inherited or pure OI-A. words before the transformation. The result of such a transformation gives us at least a 75 per cent. correct MI-A. passage. It is not possible in this short paper to demonstrate the result of applying the principles enunciated here, but scholars are invited to utilise this approach and make possible research into (a) the percentages of accuracy, (b) the ease with which Prakrits can be learnt in this manner, and (c) the live interest which can be developed in an average person for understanding the inherent relationship between MI-A. and NI-A.

This is a new approach which should be properly developed with safeguards.¹¹ For while phonology and morphology are more or less regular guides, the building-up of nominal and verbal themes is more complicated in MI-A. than in OI-A. The extended bases more or less throw out the simple bases, and while Pk. *vijju* (< Sk. *vidyut*) has yielded Mar. *vīj*, it is the extended *vijjullīā* or *vijjuliā* of Pk. which has given us Hindi *bijlī*. Nominal formation in MI-A. is largely a question of these additional terminations, which are sometimes added also to verbal themes, and there are instances of their being added on to even inflected forms (cf. *paribhottuyam* in the Dasa-veyāliya). Care is required, therefore, at every stage, to see that in the transformation of Sk. words into Pk. this aspect is given due importance. While transforming from NI-A. to MI-A. such a difficulty is generally minimised for these terminations or suffixes also from part of most of the NI-A. languages themselves.

The greatest danger to this approach is to assume scientific accuracy for every form transformed. We are dealing here with a *practical* approach the main object of which is to make the study of MI-A. interesting, without assuming any first hand knowledge of Sanskrit, and at the same time make use of the raw material in the shape of NI-A. vocables for developing one's mastery of MI-A. vocabulary. It has the advantage of going from the known into the unknown by a scientific method, but like most methods, one has to verify the results at every stage by reference to standard dictionaries and grammars. It has also the added advantage of making one conscious of one's mother tongue from a new angle, to create genuine interest in the affinities and general development of I-A.

To those who are interested in Sanskrit sufficiently to master its complicated grammar this approach will come as a revelation, because it contains

11. An attempt in this direction has been made by me with reference to Ardhamāgadhī on the one hand, and Gujarati and Marāṭhī on the other, to be published shortly by the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay.

within itself the germs of a comparative grammar of the whole I-A. family of languages from its earliest Vedic form to the latest literary and non-literary languages of present-day India. No Sanskrit scholar, unless he be an accredited linguist, has taken sufficient interest to study the inherited element of his mother tongue. In his writings he may draw his inspiration from Sanskrit literature, but there is no reason why he should not exploit the beautiful inherited words in preference to learned borrowings. This method will give him the added advantage of discriminating nuances of thought and expression by the skilful use of such inherited words by the side of learned borrowings.

* Finally the methods here employed may with profit be utilised to solve the question of what is essential in a particular language, to investigate the problem of the minimum basic vocabulary of a new Indian language which can be understood by one and all, irrespective of political, religious or communal basis. The problem of creating a national language is not so much a question of drawing up an ideal grammar and vocabulary, but of investigating the highest common factor of expression among the different inter-provincial, inter-communal and inter-religious languages or dialects which are employed every day in all parts of the country. Here is a problem which every intelligent man or woman is in a position to deal with, by the methods employed in the study of his or her own tongue in comparison with the MI-A. dialects, applied to a wider field than the Indo-Aryan itself. Herein the 25 per cent. of the non-Aryan element will come to the rescue, for it is an element which will play the greatest rôle in the building-up of a *lingua franca* for India.

FROM RĀMA JĀMADAGNYA TO JANAMEJAYA PĀRIKSITA

By

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In the *Thakkar Vassanji Madhavji Lectures*, which I delivered in the University of Bombay in 1939, I tried to trace the historical materials lying embedded in the Vedic and Puranic literature.¹

The historical events examined can thus be summarised :

Sometime between the 1500 B.C. and 1000 B.C. the Aryans occupied a considerable part of India north of Narmadā. They were divided into tribes ; of them the most powerful in the north were Yadus and Purus. Possibly these and other allied tribes were called Bharatas.²

Among the Tṛtsus arose King Divodāsa who destroyed the power of the Dasyu king, Śambara. The Dāsas like the Dasyus were a powerful race with fortresses and a civilisation, not quite dissimilar to those of the Aryans.³

From the Punjab up to the North Gujarāta lived the Haihaya-Tālajaṅgha confederacy of Aryan tribes.

There is no evidence to show that these Aryans were foreigners or that they immigrated into India within historical memory.⁴ No doubt these races were different from other races living in several parts of the country ; whether the former came into the country as conquerors or were brought into contact with the latter by geological upheavels is difficult to decide.

About the same time that Divodāsa was extending his sway over the Dasyus in the North, Arjuna Kārtavīrya the Haihaya chief was founding an empire, the northern post of which extended up to the land of Seven Rivers (the Punjab). In the course of his conquests, he destroyed the Nāga settlement on the Narmadā and founded his capital Māhiṣmatī about the site of modern Broach.⁵

1. To be published by the University of Bombay.

2. cf. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 167-169 ; II, pp. 94-96 ; OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, pp. 408-410 ; RAPSON, *Com. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 120-123.

3. cf. *R̥gveda*, I, 110. 3 ; II, 20. 8 ; III, 12.6 ; VI, 20. 10 ; etc. ; also DAS, *R̥gvedic Culture*, pp. 152-160 ; RANGACHARYA, *Pre-Musalman India*, II, pp. 171-172.

4. cf. Dr. KEITH (*Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 119-120, 123 ; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 169) who rightly observes that the Immigration theory is not borne out by the *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* ; also RANGACHARYA, *Pre-Musalman India*, II, pp. 112-114. The officially accepted theory, however, is that propounded by Dr. HOERNLE and Sir G. GRIERSON, stating that there were two waves of Aryans into India coming by different routes and at different times and that the Kurus were fresh immigrants who forced themselves like a wedge between the Aryans already settled. *Imp. Gaz.*, I, pp. 303, 357-359 ; *Languages of India*, pp. 52 ff. ; also VAIDYA, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, I, Part I, pp. 91-98 PARGITER, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 295-297, 302, and his map.

5. cf. Lecture III, in the *Thakkar Vassanji Madhavji Lectures*

In the north Divodāsa's sceptre passed to Sudās, an ambitious conqueror who was advised and inspired in turn by two priest warriors ; Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. Sudās, aided by Vasiṣṭha, declared war against the confederacy of ten kings some of whom were Dasyu kings. The Vītahavya-Srñjayas who formed part of the Haihaya-Tālajaṅgha confederacy sided with Sudās. Purukutsa aided by Viśvāmitra led the allied hosts. Jamadagni, the head of the Bhṛgu—the warrior priests of Anus and Druhyus⁶ and even of the Haihayas—who was Viśvāmitra's comrade in arms and song, helped him.⁷

The war was long and bitter. Purukutsa was imprisoned, perhaps killed in its early stages. Their chief, Viśvāmitra, disappeared—perhaps in battle. Purukutsa's queen gave birth to a son, Trasadasyu. Purukutsa had a grandson, Kuruśravaṇa, who was also a doughty warrior for whom Kavaśa Ailūṣa, the sage, had sung a song. Round them were gathered the old allies in grim determination to fight the old foe. The Anus and Druhyus were perhaps led by the great Bhṛgu Jamadagni. Viśvāmitra was dead and the Bharatas were inspired by his adopted son, originally of the Bhṛgu clan : Śunaḥśepa Devarāta.⁸ During this time the allied tribes had been fast losing their separate tribal form and becoming the Bharata people.

During a subsequent campaign Vasiṣṭha died ; and his son Śakti was captured and blinded.⁹ Sudās was also dead or killed and his line had been extinct. The Srñjaya-Vītahavyas were however a powerful people. Their king Arjuna ran to the rescue of their ally and destroyed the foes hip and thigh. The Haihayas of the South overran the sacred land. The Bhṛgu were butchered, their women raped, their leader Jamadagni killed, their wealth looted.¹⁰

Anus and Druhyus were slaughtered. Kavaśa Ailūṣa was drowned.¹¹ The Āśramas were sacked. The Ṛṣis fled for their very life ; and their literary traditions were cut short.

The ferocity of Arjuna Kārtavīrya and his sons truned even their friends in the North against him. The Bharatas, now a composite race made up of allied tribes, were led by Viśvāmitra's descendant, Duṣyanta's son himself named Bharata, and Kuruśravaṇa, the great grandson of Purukutsa. But above all these warriors towered the resplendent son of Jamadagni, thirsting for vengeance, anxious to destroy the savage hordes which had devastated his land and smothered its culture.

Rāma, leading the allied tribes, now almost one people, pursued the Haihayas. He killed Arjuna and laid Māhiṣmatī to waste. He went East and pushed back the enemies to the sea. And behind his triumphant arms

6. cf. *Ṛgveda*, VII, 18.6. According to *Vedic Index* (I, p. 22 ; II, p. 109) this is doubtful.

7. cf. *Atharvaveda*, V, 19.1 ; *Ṛgveda*, X, 167.4 ; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 469 ; also, Lecture IV in *Thakkar Vassanji Madhavji Lectures*.

8. cf. *Vāyu*, II, 29.89 ; *Hari*, I, 27. 41-42 ; also Lecture IV, *op. cit.*

9. cf. *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 348-349.

10. cf. Lecture II, Section V, and Lecture III, Section V, *op. cit.*

11. cf. *Ṛgveda*, VII, 18.12.

marched the Ṛṣis carrying the memories of their lost land and the hymns which their fathers had sung.

The war was ceaseless and protracted. Royal lines were cut short ; tribes mixed freely, Aryan and non-Aryan ; new beliefs and rituals sprang up. The descendants and disciples of the Ṛṣis kept alive old religious traditions and became a class ; and except for the lowest of the low, the people, the Vaiśyas, became fused in one, those trained to arms, the *rājanyas*, being their protectors.

The royalty of the Bharatas was continued in Kuru's line ; the Bharatas became the Kuru-Pāṇcālas. The Bhṛgu evidently set up kings in Śālva, Ayodhyā, Kānyakubja, Kāśī and Pāṇcāla.¹²

The aged Rāma ultimately made Śūrparaka his home. When his power declined the Aryans had come to be established in large kingdoms.

The question is to find the next undoubted historical event after the wars of Paraśurāma and the close of the Mantra Period.

It is now scarcely in dispute that the redaction of the Saṁhitā of the *Ṛgveda* into what is its present shape, in substance as opposed to its verbal form, took place before the other Saṁhitās were composed.¹³ In order to find out the historic event next after the close of the Mantra period we must turn to the *Aitareya* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas*, which in point of time, come next after the *Ṛgveda* Mantras. These *Brāhmaṇas* were composed a short time after the Kuru king Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit, had ceased to rule the Madhyadeśa for a few generations.¹⁴ After the *Dāśarājña*, the reign of Janamejaya may, therefore, be treated as an indisputed historic event. This would also be just about the time when the Puranic chroniclers drew the line between the 'past' and the 'future'.¹⁵

The period between the end of the reign of Tryaruṇa to the end of the reign of Janamejaya's great grandson Adhisimakṣṇa or rather between the close of the Mantra period and the composition of the *Aitareya* was fruitful of extraordinary results. These results can be summarised as follows :¹⁶

12. Ṛcika, a Bhṛgu, got the kingdom of Śālva (*Mbh*, XII. 234. 33 ; XIII. 137. 23) ; Sagara, of Ayodhyā was installed by Aurva Bhārgava (*Vāyu*, II. 26, 126-143 ; *Padma*, VI. 21. 19-35 ; *Hari*, I. 13. 32-34 ; 14. 7-21) ; Śunaḥśepa, the adopted son of Viśvāmitra, king of Kānyakubja, was a Bhārgava (cf. note 8, supra) ; Bhṛgu also dominated in Kāśī (*Hari*, I. 29. 82-83 ; 32. 28. 39-40) and Pāṇcāla (*Matsya*, 50. 14 ; *Hari*, I. 32. 76).

13. RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 114.

14. cf. KEITH, *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas Translated*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 25, Cambridge Mass., 1920, Intr., p. 45 ; also *Śat. Brā.*, XIII, 5. 4. 1 et seq ; *Ait. Brā.*, VII, 34 VIII, 11. 21 ; *Sān. Śr. Sū.*, XVI, 8.27.

15. PARGITER, *Ancient Ind. Hist. Tradition*, p. 52.

16. For the events described hereafter in paragraphs (a) to (j), cf. generally, KEITH, *Ṛgveda Brā. Tr.*, Intr., pp. 25-28, 44-45, 68 ; RAPSON, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Chapters IV and V (by Dr. KEITH) ; MACDONELL, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 152-157, 178, 213-214 ; WINTERITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, Eng. Tr., Vol. I, pp. 195-196 ; MACDONELL and KEITH, *Vedic Index*, s. v. Madhyadeśa, Vinaśana, Kuru, Bharata, Varṇa, Tṛtsu, etc.

- (a) There was a definite break in the literary and religious tradition of the *Rgveda*.
- (b) The *Rgveda* Saṁhitā had been redacted and an elaborate sacrificial ritual had sprung up in the place of the earlier simplicity of religious ceremonial.
- (c) The centre of learning had shifted from the banks of Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī to the Madhyadeśa on the banks of the Yamunā.¹⁷
- (d) Īśāna, the Mahādeva, a fusion of the concepts of the Vedic Varuṇa, Rudra and the Śiśna Deva—phallus god—of the Dasyus had come to dominate the pantheon.¹⁸
- (e) There was a similar break in the old genealogies. The line of famous kings like Sudās and Purukutsa had either become extinct or kings had begun to look upon nearer progenitors as founders of their line.
- (f) The Tṛtsus and the Sṛñjayas had been merged into the Bharata to form the Kuru-Pañcāla people.¹⁹
- (g) Parikṣit's son Janamejaya had flourished as the great Kuru king and a patron of learning.²⁰
- (h) The sacred Sarasvatī had ceased to flow.²¹
- (i) The social structure in which the Aryans and the Dasyus stood in constant conflict had given place to a homogeneous society divided into *varṇas*.²²
- (j) Tribal government had been replaced by kingdoms ruled by powerful kings from well-settled capitals.²³

The important and outstanding question, therefore, is whether there are any authentic historical events which would fix the distance of time between

17. RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 116-117 (KEITH); MACDONELL, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, pp. 142, 174; WINTERNITZ, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, I, pp. 380-381; also, *Ait. Brā.*, II, 19, VIII, 14. 3, VIII, 23; *Kauṣ. Brā.*, XII, 3; *Sat. Brā.*, XIII, 5. 4. 11.

18. KEITH, *Rgveda Brā. Tr.*, Intr., pp. 25-26; WEBER, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Eng. Tr., pp. 45, 110; Macdonell, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, pp. 153, 178, 206; VAIDYA, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 141-142; Pt. 2, pp. 58-59, 112; *Atharvaveda*, XV, 6; *Sat. Brā.*, VI, 1.3.10-17; *Kauṣ. Brā.*, II, 2, III, 4, V, 7, VI, 1-9, VIII, 4, XXI, 3, XXIII, 3, etc.

19. cf. RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 118-121 (KEITH); MACDONELL, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, pp. 154-157; *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 167-168, 322; II, pp. 95-96; OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, pp. 406-409.

20. RAY CHAUDHURY, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Edn., pp. 30-33; RANGACHARYA, *Pre-Muslim India*, Vol. 2, pp. 207-208; *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 273-274; *Atharvaveda*, XX, 127. 7-10; *Ait. Brā.*, VII, 34, VIII, 21; *Sat. Brā.*, XIII, 5. 4. 1. et seq.; *Śāṅk. Śr. Sū.*, XII, 17. 1, XVI, 9. 1.

21. RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 117-118 (KEITH); *Pañc. Brā.*, XXV, 10.16; *Jaim. Up. Brā.*, IV, 26. 12.

22. cf. RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 92-94, 125 (KEITH); MACDONELL, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, p. 152; *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 247-252; GHURYE, *Caste and Race in India*, pp. 41-42; cf. *Rgveda*, I, 104. 2; II, 12. 4; III, 34. 9; etc.

23. KEITH, *Rgveda Brā. Tr.*, Intr., p. 45; cf. *Ait. Brā.*, VIII, 12. 4. 5; VIII, 14; *Śāṅk. Śr. Sū.*, XVII, 16. 3; also RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 130.

the close of the Mantra period and the death of Janamejaya Pārikṣita. It is however to be noted that there are two Janamejaya Pārikṣitas (viz. Nos. 74 and 97 in Pargiter's Table) in the Paurava dynasty as given by the Purāṇas.

1	Manu	74	Janamejaya I
4	Āyu	85	Bhīmasena
7	Pūru	87	Pratīpa
43	Duṣyanta	90	Śantanu
44	Bharata	91	Bhīṣma
51	Hastin	92	Vicitravīrya
53	Ajāmīdha	93	Dhṛtarāṣṭra
63	Ṛkṣa	94	Pāṇḍavas—Arjuna
69	Samvarana	95	Abhimanyu
71	Kuru	96	Parikṣit II
73	Parikṣit I	97	Janamejaya ²⁴

The Janamejaya Pārikṣita whom the *Satapatha* and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇas* referred to, ruled at Āsandivat as stated below.

Janamejaya Pārikṣita went round the world completely conquering on every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice. Regarding this, a sacrificial song is sung :

“In Āsandivat, Janamejaya bound for the Gods, a black-spotted grain-eating horse, adorned with a golden ornament and with yellow garlands.”²⁵

Was this Janamejaya Pārikṣita the great grandson of Arjuna of the Pāṇḍavas as known to Purāṇas (Janamejaya II) or the king of the same name and patronym who is shown as Kuru's grandson Janamejaya I in the genealogy of the Pauravas? Dr. RAY CHAUDHURI in his *Political History of Ancient India* is of the view that Janamejaya II was the king whom the two *Brāhmaṇas* referred to.²⁶ In addition, however, to the arguments advanced by the learned author there are other facts which point the same way. Examining the pedigree in the light of Vedic reference it appears that Yayāti No. 6,²⁷ Āyu No. 4,²⁸ Manu No. 1,²⁹ Pūru No. 7,³⁰ Ajāmīdha No. 53,³¹ Ṛkṣa No. 63,³² and Kuru No. 71³³ are all found in Ṛgvedic Mantras ; and so are Samvarana

24. PARGITER, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-149.

25. EGGLING, *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, SBE, Vol. 44, p. 396 ; cf. KEITH, *Rgveda Brā. Trs.*, p. 336 ; *Sat. Brā.*, XIII, 5. 4. 1-2 ; *Ait. Brā.*, VIII, 21. 1-3.

26. 4th Edn., pp. 10-17. Dr. PRADHAN (*Chronology of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1927, pp. 157-159) also takes the Janamejaya Pārikṣita of the *Brāhmaṇas* to be identical with the great-grandson of the Pāṇḍavas.

27. *Rgveda*, I, 31. 17 ; X, 63. 1.

28. *Rgveda*, I, 53. 10 ; II, 14. 7 ; VI, 18. 3 ; VIII, 53. 2.

29. *Rgveda*, I, 80. 16 ; II, 33. 13 ; VIII, 63. 1 ; X, 100. 5 ; etc. ; also, Lecture II, *op. cit.*, under “Mānavas”.

30. *Rgveda*, VII, 8. 4 ; 18. 13 ; also Lecture IV, *op. cit.*

31. *Rgveda*, IV, 44. 6.

32. *Rgveda*, VIII, 68. 15.

33. *Rgveda*, X, 33 ; cf. also Lecture IV, *op. cit.*

No. 69³⁴ who is a Vedic ṛṣi and Śantanu No. 90³⁵ whose patronymic is Autana, a brother of Devāpi and the son of Rṣiṣeṇa. These therefore must have flourished before the close of the Mantra period and not after and could not have been separated by about twenty generations from Kuru with whom the Mantra period ended.³⁶

The *Atharva Veda* refers to Pratipa No. 87.³⁷ The two old *Brāhmaṇas* know Sātrājita Śatānika and also refer to Bharata Dauḥṣyanti Saudyumni (No. 44)³⁸ and to his priest Dīrghatamas³⁹ who also figures in the *Ṛgveda* Mantras.⁴⁰ The two *Brāhmaṇas* however do not know of any of the Paurava kings from Samvraṇa to the Pāṇḍavas. Bhīmasena was the brother of Janamejaya Pārikṣita.⁴¹ The Dhrtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya, No. 92, is not a Kuru prince at all according to *Kāthaka Samhitā*,⁴² and is more likely to be the king of Kāśī referred to by the *Śatapatha*⁴³ who was defeated by the Bharata king Sātrājita Śatānika.⁴⁴ The Puranic genealogy of Janamejaya is therefore incorrect.

Again, if we take the Janamejaya Pārikṣita of the *Aitareya* to be Janamejaya I (No. 74) and not Janamejaya II (No. 97) it would lead to very curious results. On this hypothesis, Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara, who lived about the close of the Mantra period and was contemporary of Kuru (70) lived for about 25 generations to be the contemporary of Arjuna (No. 94)⁴⁵. Uttara Kurus who had become a mythic people in the time of Janamejaya I (No. 74) became a very much living people in the time of Paṇḍu, the father of Arjuna (94)⁴⁶. Though Janamejaya I (74) was a great king the *Purāṇas* have omitted to record his exploits and practically transferred them to Janamejaya II (94). In absence of any corroborative evidence that in the line of Pauravas there were two Parikṣits, that each of them had a son by name Janamejaya, and that both sons had a similarly glorious career, the conclusion is inevitable that the Janamejaya Pārikṣita of *Aitareya* is Jana-

34. *Rgveda*, V, 33. 10.

35. *Rgveda*, X, 98 ; also, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 353 ; PARGITER, *op. cit.*, p. 165 ; *Nirukta*, II, 10 ; *Mbh.*, I, 94. 61-62 ; 95. 44-46 ; etc.

36. cf. contra, the genealogical tables prepared by PARGITER (*op. cit.*, pp. 144-149) followed so far in various books, which are obviously wrong as all these Rgvedic personages, naturally belonging to the Rgvedic period, are placed in these tables in the post-Vedic period, generations after the close of the Rgvedic period.

37. *Atharvaveda*, XX, 129, 1-2 ; cf. also, *Ait. Brā.*, VI, 33. 2 ; *Śāṅk. Śr. Sū.*, XII, 18. 1-2.

38. *Ait. Brā.*, VIII, 21. 5 ; *Sat. Brā.*, XIII, 5. 4. 19-22.

39. *Ait. Brā.*, VIII, 23. 1 ; *Sat. Brā.*, XIII, 5. 4. 11-12.

40. *Rgveda*, I, 158. 1, 6 ; also, I. 147. 3 ; 156. 6 ; IV. 4. 13 ; VIII. 9.

41. *Sat. Brā.*, XIII, 5. 4. 3 ; *Śāṅk. Śr. Sū.*, XV, 9. 3. 5.

42. *Kāthaka Sam.*, X. 6 ; cf. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 403.

43. *Sat. Brā.*, XIII. 5. 4. 19-22.

44. WEBER, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 90, 114, 125.

45. cf. contra, the genealogical tables by PARGITER, (*op. cit.*, 144-149).

46. cf. RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 121.

mejaya II whom the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* place as the great-grandson of the Pāṇḍavas⁴⁷.

This conclusion is supported by looking at the references to Kurus. The Kurus are not a people in the *R̥gveda*⁴⁸; we only find a prince Kuruśravaṇa⁴⁹ and a Pākasthāman Kaurayāṇa⁵⁰. Kuruśravaṇa is a descendant of Trasadasyu, and perhaps supplies the link between Purukutsa and the later Kurus. There is no doubt that the Tṛtsus, the Bharatas and the Sṛñjayas of the *R̥gveda* later went to form the Kuru-Pañcālas.⁵¹ The Kuru-Pañcālas were one people occupying the Madhyadeśa, the home of learning and sacrifice⁵²; their kings performed sacrifices⁵³; and according to the *Vājasaneyī Samhitā*, they had one king⁵⁴. In the *Atharva Veda*, Parikṣit, the prince of Kurus, and in the *Aitareya* and the *Satapatha*, his son Janamejaya, are mentioned as performing horse-sacrifice⁵⁵. These references present a continuity of power, learning and culture among the Kurupañcālas rising to its climax in the time of Janamejaya.

There is no reference to any war between the Kurus and Pañcālas or to a single great figure of the *Mahābhārata* or to a later Parikṣit and Janamejaya. In the later Vedic literature, the latest part of which must be placed long after any conceivable date of the Bharata war. Why are these records silent about that devastating conflict? Why is not the Rājāsūya Yajña of Yudhiṣṭhira or his coronation referred to in the tediously elaborate ritualistic texts? Why is Kṛṣṇa not spoken of?⁵⁶ How is this conspiracy of silence

47. Mr. N. BHATTACHARYA, however, states that there were three Paurava Janamejayas and two Janamejaya Pārikṣitas (*Ind. Hist. Qu.*, IX, pp. 804-809). The late Rao Bahadur C. V. VAIDYA was certain about there being only one Janamejaya Pārikṣita, and he took him to be the descendant of Pāṇḍava Arjuna (*Mahābhārata, A Criticism*, Bombay, 1905, p. 101; also, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, I, Pt. 4, p. 96).

48. cf. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 16; RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 83.

49. *R̥gveda*, X, 33. 4.

50. *R̥gveda*, VIII, 3. 21.

51. cf. OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, pp. 406-410; MACDONELL, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, pp. 154-156; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 167; WEBER, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 114 also n*. In royal proclamations भरताः (*Taitt. Sam.*, I, 8. 10. 2; *Taitt. Brā.*, I, 7. 4. 2), कुरुपञ्चालाः (*Vāj. Sam.-Kāṇva.*, XI, 3. 3; 6. 3), जनते (*Kāth. Sam.*, XV, 7; *Mait. Sam.*, II, 6. 7) and भरताः, कुरुवः, पञ्चालाः, कुरुपञ्चालाः and जनताः (*Āpastamba*, XVIII, 12. 7) occur as variant formulas in various texts.

52. *Ait. Brā.*, VIII, 14; *Sat. Brā.*, I, 7. 2. 8; III, 2. 3. 15; *Sāṅk. Śr. Sū.*, XV, 3. 15; *Jaim. Up. Brā.*, III, 7. 6; 8. 7; IV, 7. 2; *Gopatha Brā.*, I, 2. 9; etc.; KEITH, *R̥gveda Brā.*, *Tr.*, *Intr.*, p. 45.

53. *Sat. Brā.*, V, 5. 2. 5.

54. *Vāj. Sam.*, XI, 3. 3 (p. 306, Weber's Edn.); cf. also, RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 119; WEBER, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 114 n*.

55. *Atharvaveda*, XX, 127. 7-10 (= *Sāṅk. Śr. Sū.*, XII, 17. 1); *Ait. Brā.*, VII, 34; VIII, 11. 21; *Sat. Brā.*, XIII, 5. 4. 1-3.

56. Dr. RAY CHAUDHURY identifies Devakiputra Kṛṣṇa mentioned in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (III, 17. 6) with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* (*Pol. Hist.*, 4th Edn., p. 119 n. 3). Dr. WINTERNITZ (*Hist. Ind. Lit.*, I, pp. 456-457)

to be explained except by the inevitable conclusion that no such war took place and no such mighty figures lived in fact?

On the contrary, the *Śaṅkhāyanaśrauta Sūtra* refers to a curse which led to the Kurus being driven out of Kurukṣetra⁵⁷; and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* contains a query as to what happened to the descendants of Parikṣit⁵⁸. Either of the misfortunes cannot refer to the Bharata war; for soon thereafter, according to the *Purāṇas*, Janamejaya succeeded to the kingship of Kurus. These events which appear to be authentic must on any hypothesis be referred to a time posterior to the reign of Arjuna's great grandson. The Kurupañcāla supremacy, therefore, on all reliable testimony had only one break and a final one only after the reign of Janamejaya Pāriṣita, the only one of that name.

If my conclusions are correct, Janamejaya Pāriṣita's ancestry is not reliably known and the story of the *Mahābhārata* is a purely imaginary one. A magnificent national epic, then, appears to have been woven into the heroic tales which floated round the memories of the great conflicts which began with *Dāśarājña* and of which the central figure was Paraśurāma. This fact is betrayed by the very contacts which the poet seeks to establish between his imaginary characters and the names remembered as connected with the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict⁵⁹. The Tṛtsus, Sudās and Śrījaya become members of the

WEBER (*Hist. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 71, 148) and others (cf. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 184) take a different view. Mr. TADPATRIKAR of the Bhandarkar Institute has written a monograph on the "*Kṛṣṇa Problem*" subjecting the different accounts of Kṛṣṇa in the *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* to a critical analysis, but he has arrived at no definite conclusion. Like the central theme of the great *Mahābhārata* the *Harivaṃśa* also seems to portray the Dāśarājña and the Bhṛgu wars. The principal enemies of Kṛṣṇa are Kaṁsa (Bhojas, descendants of Druhyas), Śiśupāla (Cedis, sept of the Matsyas, enemies of Sudās), Jarāsandha (Magadha, descendant of Pūrus), who may be said to be the enemies of Sudās in the Dāśarājña. The vanquishing of the whole army by Kṛṣṇa single-handed is reminiscent of the Paraśurāma exploits, and so is the foundation of Dvārakā after getting land from the sea which recalls to our mind the similar story about Śūrpāraka.

57. *Sāṅk. Sr. Sū.*, XV, 16. 11. The *Harivaṃśa* (I, 30. 10) and the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 150. 3) probably refer to the Brahmahatyā leading to the curse.

58. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III, 3.1.

59. cf. also Dr. SUKTHANKAR's article on "The Bhṛgu and the Bhārata" (*Annals of the Bhand. O. R. Inst.*, XVIII, pp. 1-76) especially pp. 13, 17-18, 24-25, 35, 42-43, 65, where he has referred to the passages from the epic in which the poet has shown the epic characters to be in personal touch with Paraśurāma, etc. The evidence brought forth by Dr. SUKTHANKAR shows the amount of Bhṛgu influence over the *Mahābhārata*, at times to the detriment of the main epic story. It seems more probable, however, that the Bhārata (by whatever name known in ancient times) was originally a Bhṛgu epic, and was given its present shape with the addition of the full-fledged Kaurava-Pāṇḍava account after it came into the hands of some court-poet of Janamejaya or his successors. Further support in favour of the view expressed above is found in the fact that the *Mahābhārata* shows Viṣṇu influence and the Śiva cult is a later addition (cf. WINTERNITZ, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, I, p. 320). It is but natural that the Bhṛgu epic, the original of our present *Mahābhārata*, should glorify Viṣṇu, as the great Bhārgava Paraśurāma is known as an avatāra of Viṣṇu.

same family and form the Pañcāla line of Puranic tradition⁶⁰. Sudās is supposed to have defeated Saṁvarāṇa of Hastināpura and a confederacy of Purus, Yadus, Śivas, Druhyus, Matsyas, Turvaśa and other states was stirred up to resist Pañcālas⁶¹. This is nothing but an erroneous edition of the Vedic account of *Dāśarājña*, Saṁvarāṇa, being considered identical with Purukutsa⁶². Kuru the descendant of Trasadasyu and Purukutsa as also of the Puranic Saṁvarāṇa, subdues South Pañcāla⁶³; this is nothing but Kuruśravaṇa's conquest over Sudās' forces. Pṛṣata (Prastoka?) a descendant of Sudās recovers north Pañcāla with Bhīṣma's aid, the latter being the pupil of Rāma, the son of Jamadagni⁶⁴. Droṇa, the pupil of Rāma, leading the Kurus, drives out Drupada from North Pañcāla⁶⁵. Drupada goes to South Pañcāla and with Śrījaya and Somaka goes to battle⁶⁶. Thus the old allies of Sudās are shown

60. cf. PARIGTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-117; JRAS, 1918, pp. 229-248; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 353 n*.

61. cf. *Mbh.*, I, 94. 35-38; PARGITER, *op. cit.*, p. 281; JRAS, 1910, pp. 49-50. The Pañcāla prince is taken to be Sudāsa. It may be noted that in the great Bhārata war, the opponents of the Pāṇḍavas (i.e. Pañcālas, as opposed to the Kurus) included the kings of Gāndhāra, Śibi, Kosala, Madra, Kāmboja, Avanti, Kekaya, Sindha, Bhoja, etc., most of whom were descendants of, or connected with, the enemies of Sudās in the Vedic *Dāśarājña*, such as the Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, etc., the Kauravas (Kurus) themselves being the descendants of the Pūrus. The supporters of the Pāṇḍavas were the Pañcālas—Śrījaya and Somaka—Matsyas, Kāśi, Cedi, Vṛṣṇi, etc. who, with the exception of the Matsyas were the descendants of the allies of Sudās.

62. cf. the account of the *Dāśarājña* (DAS, *Rgvedic Culture*, pp. 352-367; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 320) where the names of the participants have been enumerated. Sudās and Purukutsa who led the rival forces have been represented in the epic account as Pāñcālīya and Saṁvarāṇa. As stated in the previous footnote, in the *Mahābhārata* war also the various kings under the banner of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas may be traced to their Vedic prototypes in the *Dāśarājña*. Some changes indeed are to be found, but they are quite explicable in view of the subsequent events. Even in the *Rgveda*, we find that the Purus were sometimes the allies and sometimes the enemies of Sudās. The *Mahābhārata* war, as has been observed by PARGITER (JRAS, 1908, p. 334) and HOPKINS (*Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 275), was broadly between the Southern Madhyadeśa united with Pañcāla and the rest of India: the *Dāśarājña*, however, was fought in the Punjab, between the Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī. With the expansion of the Aryan civilization eastward in the post-Vedic period, the writer (or the writers) of the epic probably shifted the scene of the conflict eastward; in this light, the locations of the contending parties in both the wars may be said to be practically the same.

63. cf. *Matsya*, 50. 20; *Vāyu*, 99. 215; *Hari*, I, 32. 85; which state that Kuru extended his sway beyond Prayāga indicating thereby that he overcame South Pañcāla which intervened between his territory and Prayāga.

64. cf. *Mbh.*, XII, 27. 10; *Hari*, I, 20. 35-73; also, *Mbh.*, XII, 46. 18-21; etc.

65. cf. *Mbh.*, I, 138. 1-77; 166. 16-28; *Hari*, I, 20. 74-75.

66. cf. *Mbh.*, I, 138. 72-77; VI, 16. 24; VI, 89. 17; etc. Drupada, king of the Pañcālas, took the side of the Pāṇḍavas in the Bhārata war, and the Pañcāla army included Somakas and Śrījayas (cf. SÖRENSEN's *Index to ... Mahābhārata*, s. v. Pañcāla, Somaka and Śrījaya). Drupada and his son Dhṛṣṭadyumna are called "best among the Somakas" (सोमकानां प्रबहूः). The importance attached to the Pañ-

as fighting with their old enemies, the Bharatas, Kuruśravaṇa's people led by the pupils of the old hero Rāma. The new version is evidently wrenched out of its context and displaced topographically⁶⁷. If, therefore, the pedigree of the Pāṇḍavas and the details of their romantic story are kept aside the period between the close of the Mantra period and the death of Janamejaya would be considerably narrowed. Kuruśravaṇa, the R̥gveda prince, descended from Purukutsa, the formation of Kuru Pañcāla alliance referred to in the *Aitareya*⁶⁸, Viśvāmitra the Bharata who fought with Sudās, the Bharata Dauḥṣyanti referred to in the *Aitareya* who established Bharata dominion in the Madhyadesa⁶⁹ and the Bharatas whose exploits the *Mahābhārata* recites could not have been separated by a very long time.

Atharva Veda which preceded the *Aitareya* knows of Parikṣit and also tells the tale of Śrījaya Vītahavyas having perished⁷⁰, but does not know of Bhīma of Vidarbha (50); of Sahadeva the son of Śrījaya (59); and of Marutta the son of Āvikṣit (40) known to the *Aitareya*⁷¹; neither of these records knows of Bhagīratha Aikṣvāka (45) known to the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad*⁷²; of Citraratha (19) known to the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*⁷³; and of Māndhātā (21) known to the later *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*⁷⁴. These kings, therefore, were not known or were not important enough to be noticed at the date of the *Aitareya* when Janamejaya furnished a background of recent glory. Sudās and Purukutsa therefore could not have been separated from Janamejaya Pārikṣita by many generations.

cālas in the Bhārata war will be evident from the fact that Dhṛṣṭadyumna was the Commander-in-Chief of the Pāṇḍava forces (*Mbh.*, V, 157. 13).

57. cf. also footnotes 59, 61, 62, and 87. We have seen that Sudas and Śrījaya (later, Pañcāla) were allies fighting with Purukutsa (later, Kuru). So, the various encounters that they had were later taken to be Kuru-Śrījaya conflicts. The *Mahābhārata* also refers to the great internecine Kuru battle as Kuru-Śrījaya war (*Mbh.*, V, 93. 8; VI, 45. 2; VIII, 47. 23; VIII, 66. 40; IX, 9. 1.; etc.). Following almost on the heels of *Dāśarājña* were the wars of the great Bhārgava, Paraśurāma. Naturally these also found a place in the imagination of the poet or poets concerned with the *Mahābhārata* and got included in the epic. As the whole period was packed up with wars everywhere it was subsequently taken to cover generations. All the incidents were badly mangled and tagged on to imaginary persons taken to be the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, and ancestors of the historic Janamejaya well-known in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Thus there is in the *Mahābhārata* a hopeless mixture of various incidents regardless of time, place and persons.

68. *Ait. Brā.*, VIII, 14. 3; cf. also, *Jaim. Up. Brā.*, III, 7. 6; 8. 7; IV, 7. 2; *Gopatha Brā.*, I, 2. 9; *Kāth. Sam.*, X, 6; *Vāj. Sam.*, XI, 3. 3; RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 118-119.

69. For Viśvāmitra, the Bharata, cf. the account of the *Dāśarājña* given in Lecture I, *op. cit.* For Bharata Dauḥṣyanti, cf. *Ait. Brā.*, VIII, 23. 1.

70. *Atharvaveda*, XX, 127. 7-10 (Parikṣit); V, 18. 10-11; 19. 1; (Śrījaya-Vītahavya).

71. *Ait. Brā.*, VII, 34. 9; VIII, 21. 12; cf. also *Śat. Brā.*, II, 4.4.4; XII, 8. 2. 3; XIII, 5. 4. 6.

72. *Jaim. Up. Brā.*, IV, 6. 1.

73. *Pañc. Brā.*, XX, 12. 5.

74. *Gopatha Brā.*, 1. 2. 9.

As a result of these inquiries the events between Sahasrārjuna and the death of Janamejaya which may be treated as historical can be thus described.

The Outer Band Aryans—the Śāryātas, the Bhrgus and the Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas,—were in occupation of Gujarāta from the dawn of traditional history⁷⁵. The Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas very much later defeated the Nāgas and founded Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā⁷⁶. A great war between Aryan tribes took place lasting for generations⁷⁷. The important episode of the war was the Dāśarājña : Sudās and Vasiṣṭha with Tṛtsus, Vītahavyas and Śrījayas (i.e. Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas) were on one side ; Purukutsa, Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni led the Bharatas and their allies on the other. In one of its later campaigns the Vītahavya king Arjuna was killed by Rāma, son of Jamadagni⁷⁸. As a result of these protracted wars, about the reign of Tryarūṇa, a descendant of Purukutsa, a definite break occurred in the genealogies and the literary and religious traditions of the R̥gvedic Aryans, and the Mantra period came to an end⁷⁹. Thereafter, the war was continued between Śrījaya and Vītahavyas on one side and the Bharatas and Bhrgus on the other⁸⁰. Rāma the son of Jamadagni, Kuruśravaṇa the descendant of Purukutsa and a Bharata prince, son of Duḥśyanta, led the latter at different places and times⁸¹ ; Rāma's conquests spread upto the Narmadā. Māhiṣmatī was destroyed and Śūrpāraka was founded⁸². Later in the East the Vītahavyas and Śrījayas were destroyed by the Bhrgu Aurva Agni and Sagara⁸³. In one of the stages of the war Rāma's pupil Droṇa leading the Kurus defeated the Śrījayas, who formed the Pañcāla whom Somaka and Drupada led⁸⁴.

It appears therefore that Rāma's war had the following effects : Kingdoms dominated by the Inner Band Aryans spread over north India right upto the Narmadā ; The Tṛtsus, Bharats, Śrījayas fused to become the Kurupañcāla people, who came out successful from the long struggle⁸⁵ ;

75. cf. Lecture I and II, *op. cit.*

76. cf. Lecture II, note 50, and Lecture III, *op. cit.*

77. The war covered at least the life-times of Divodāsa, Sudās and Saudāsa, Vasiṣṭha and Sakti, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu and Kuruśravaṇa, Jamadagni, Viśvāmitra and Sunaḥśepa, etc.

78. Lecture I, *op. cit.*, for Dāśarājña, and Lecture II and IV *op. cit.*, for Arjuna and Rāma.

79. For Tryarūṇa cf. Lecture IV, *op. cit.*, notes 35, 39. There is no reference to any successors of Tryarūṇa and his contemporaries which indicates break in the genealogies and traditions.

80. cf. *Atharva Veda*, V. 18. 8-10 ; 19. 1.

81. See Lectures III and IV, *op. cit.* ; for Bharata's wars, cf. *Śat. Brā*, XIII. 5. 4. 11-14 also RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 47, 120, 308.

82. cf. Lecture III, *op. cit.*

83. cf. Lecture IV, *op. cit.*, with note 31 for Aurva, and Lecture III, *op. cit.*, with note 50 for Sagara.

84. cf. Droṇaparvan of the *Mahābhārata* which represents the Kaurava-Pāṇḍava war under the command of Droṇa for the Kurus who defeated the Somakas and Śrījayas ; specially, Adhyāyas 21, 106, 110, 122, 124, 125 etc.

85. OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, pp. 403-410 ; *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 167-169.

A new literary and religious tradition started under the Kuru-Pañcāla kings who attained great power.⁸⁶

The minor Kuru-Pañcāla conflicts later were incorporated into the Bhārata war by the poet.⁸⁷ There was no disastrous Bharata war between Kurus and Pañcālas or Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas between the date of *Dāśarājña* and the close of Janamejaya Pārikṣita's reign. When the war was concluded Janamejaya Pārikṣita was the king of Kuru Pañcāla ruling at Āsandīvant. The fusion between the Aryans and the Dasyus was complete and the Vedic society yielded place to the castes.⁸⁸ After the end of the wars, the Vedas were redacted and there is nothing to militate against the tradition that Vyāsa Pārāśarya, connected by his patronym with Parāśara the grandson of the Vasiṣṭha of the Vedic Battle was mainly responsible for this redaction. Thus the period between the *Dāśarājña* and Janamejaya did not exceed about four or five generations or the full span of one long life like that of Rāma Jāmadagnya or Vyāsa Pārāśarya. In the circumstances the genealogy of PARITER may be stated more accurately as in the attached table.

86. cf. *Ait. Brā*, VII. 27, 34 ; VIII. 11, 21-23 ; *Śat Brā*, I. 7. 2. 8 ; III. 2. 3. 15 ; etc., which portend the flourishing condition of the Kuru-Pañcālas. KEITH, *Rgveda Brā. Tr. Intr.*, p. 45.

87. cf. also footnotes 59, 61, 62 and 67 above. The Bhārata war, as has been already stated, seems to be a curious combination of the different aspects of the *Dāśarājña* and other wars following it, including the wars of Paraśurāma. The background has been placed around fictitious ancestors of Janamejaya regardless of topography, chronology, etc. The *Mahābhārata*, again, is the product of different periods, many additions being comparatively recent ; hence the task of tracing the sources of the various stories should follow a critical edition showing all the chronological strata.

88. cf. *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 252-253 ; *Śat. Brā*, V. 5. 4. 9 ; RAPSON, *Cambridge Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 86, 124-126.

CAREER OF RANJIT SINGH AND ITS EFFECT ON INDIAN POLITICS *

By

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Ranjit Singh can be appropriately styled the last representative of Indian freedom. He was also the latest genius that the Indian nation has produced. From the middle of the 18th century the British power as represented by the East India Company started competition with the various Indian chiefs for the political supremacy of this continent, for which the disaster sustained by the Marathas at Panipat in 1761 supplied a unique chance. The untimely death of the Peshwa Madhavrao I and the murder of his brother Narayanrao shortly after, brightened the prospects of the British power in the field of this competition : but for a quarter of a century two prominent figures arose among the Marathas, who for a time successfully checked British aggression, viz. Mahadji Sindia the soldier, and Nana Fadnis the diplomat. The two acting in co-operation successfully pushed back the British advance and it looked as if the Maratha power was going to regain its former vigour under the guidance of a rising new Peshwa, Madhavrao II. But fate decreed otherwise. This youthful and promising young Peshwa, the acknowledged head of the Maratha Confederacy suffered an untimely death in October 1795 by a fall from the upper story of his palace and this at once changed the aspect of the Indian political horizon. Within less than a decade, the Maratha power was crushed by Wellesley and his several brilliant coadjutors. The Peshwa Bajirao II played into the hands of British diplomats and soon lost all the vestiges of Maratha power which had been built by the sacrifice of much heroic blood during the preceding period of a century and a half. In the early 19th century the British supremacy came to be fully established, the last Peshwa having been expelled to Bithur in 1818.

At such a juncture the stars working in favour of Indian freedom put forth a unique personality in the north-west corner of India. Ranjit Singh rose by sheer personal merit to organise the Sikh nation on military basis and for a time to oppose the British advance so as to create a short-lived hope that Indians would yet successfully hold their own against Britain. In this respect the career of Ranjit Singh deserves to be properly studied as a glorious epoch in Indian history. With this object I wish to explain in this paper some of the salient features of Ranjit Singh's inspiring career, as it has recently received additional prominence in the various celebrations of his death centenary in last June. The activities of the Sikhs form by no means a negligible link in our knowledge of India's past.

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Lives of great men like Shivaji and Ranjit Singh are at all times and in all countries a common national asset, as they are the makers of all history and supply the much needed inspiration to men's drooping spirits. The greatness of these outstanding personalities is not affected by the particular nationality to which they belong. That Shivaji was a Maratha or Ranjit Singh was a Sikh was a mere accident. Both served their country equally. They organized their disunited nation and made it their life's mission to win and preserve its freedom. Ranjit Singh's example being modern and fresh is to us a sure guide in our present struggle for *svarājya*. I wish to point out in this short paper the salient features of his eventful career.

The life-work of Ranjit Singh illustrates the main principle of human endeavour, viz., that man is as he has made himself; man will be as he will make himself, no matter what the obstacles may be in his path. Obstacles always enhance the value of human effort. In this light we can easily summarize the outstanding features of Ranjit Singh's service to the Indian nation.

The history of India since hoary antiquity to the present day has been, as we very well know, moulded by the conditions existing on its north-western border, that is, the land of the five rivers, where during modern times the valiant Sikh nation have acted their wonderful rôle. They were for a long time a scattered people who under the stress of common danger quickly developed a martial democratic spirit. While the British were consolidating their power in the Karnatak and Bengal, the Sikhs were engaged in putting their house in order. The Maratha Afghan struggle culminating in the weakening of both the powers, gave the Sikhs their chance for a rise. Ranjit Singh, however, came much later on the scene. Born in 1780 he inherited a small principality at the age of ten, when the Punjab was practically under the Afghan rule. Fired with a righteous ambition for creating an independent field for his activity, he cleverly managed to take possession of Lahore in 1798 and made it his capital. The holy Gurudwara of Amritsar naturally came under his supervision, so that his real designs could not long be concealed and roused the jealousy of the British power, then rapidly marching for the grasp of Indian supremacy under the lead of their vigorous representative, the famous Lord Wellesley. When the Marathas were humbled, the task of consolidating the British power fell to Lord Minto, the first of Anglo-British rulers, who attempted to formulate the trans-Indian policy, and who could not view with equanimity the rise of a new powerful neighbour in the west. Ranjit Singh directed his main effort towards establishing an undisputed sway over the vast territories lying between Delhi on the east and Kabul on the west, including, if possible, Kashmere and Sindh. These were the days of Napoleonic Wars in Europe, during which the leaders of the British nation were in addition haunted by a constant fear of Russia marching upon India through the North-western passes. Hence arose the famous mission of Charles Metcalfe sent by Lord Minto to the Court of Ranjit Singh in 1808-09. The consummate diplomacy which Ranjit Singh exhibited in his dealings with this mission is a most

amusing chapter of British-Indian history and excites one's highest admiration for that great ruler's skill and foresight in counteracting his opponent's aims. The British realized that it was no easy task to overcome Ranjit Singh and wisely restrained their hand for a long time to come, making the Sutlaj the dividing line of their spheres.

On his side Ranjit Singh also discovered the secret of Britain's strength. Scrupulously avoiding an open clash with her, he set about organizing his own financial and military resources. While man for man, an Indian was by no means inferior to a European, it was the discipline and the generalship of the West in which the Indians were found to be utterly lacking. To achieve these objects in his own scheme of military organization, Ranjit Singh purposely took under his employ some of the best French military officers trained under the great Napoleon. We must remember that after that great Emperor's fall in 1815, most of his followers had to wander for livelihood in all directions. A few of these found their way to western Asia and after years of search, found an employment under Ranjit Singh. Allard, Ventura, Avitabile and Court are names of four of these who have obtained fame in organizing the Sikh forces on the French model and in making wide conquests for Ranjit Singh. With the help of these foreign experts he trained the whole Sikh nation to a life of discipline and soldierly activity, qualities which have become associated with the word Sikh even to the present day.

This experiment of Ranjit Singh deserves a minute study from the point of military history of India. It had long been discovered that without western discipline the Indians would not be able to cope with European aggression. The Peshwas undertook the experiment with the help of Bussy, the famous French General and employed the services of his pupil Ibrahim Khan Gardi on the famous field of Panipat. Later on Mahadji Sindia obtained two celebrities, De Boigne and Perron, to organize his armies on the principles of western science and gave them full control and freedom of direction, a mistake which the Marathas found so fatal when the crucial moment came, and against which Ranjit Singh took strong precaution from the beginning. While he managed to take out the best of what these French generals had to yield, he rested full control and power of action into the hands of his own trusted Indian Officers.

Ranjit Singh started this great novel task about the year 1822 and brought it to perfection within less than 10 years of incessant toil and rigid care. He himself worked day and night like a common soldier and showed by personal example that no work was too mean or trivial for even the monarch's exertions. Luxury and ease he never knew. The British administrators watched his movements and measures with extreme chagrin and poignant jealousy but dared not think of waging a conflict of arms with him.

Ranjit Singh conquered Multan, the trans-Indus province of Darajat, and Kashmere in the course of a few years and for a long time attempted the conquest of Peshawar, that is the eastern part of Afghanistan, and ultimately after several heroic struggles completed that undertaking. At the same time

he was successfully checkmated on the east by the British. He ardently desired to extend his dominion right up to Delhi, the river Jumna being almost the natural eastern boundary of the Punjab; but wisely avoiding a clash with the strong and resourceful British power, he had to confine his ambition to the west of the Sutlaj. Since Metcalfe's mission of 1809 right upto his death in 1839 he studiously kept up cordial and friendly relations with his British neighbours. But it was soon evident to all close observers that the amity of these two spirited powers would not last for a long time. No small shrub could thrive under a large spreading tree. The lion and the fox, or the mouse and the cat, might play friendly pranks for a time and delude the onlookers; but their friendship could not be lasting. The British power was fast expanding to all parts of the globe; in India itself it annihilated small powers within a short space and established a permanent military camp on the banks of the Sutlaj with its destructive cannons pointing towards Lahore. Ranjit Singh surely was too shrewd to mistake the meaning. In the meantime there was a profuse play of friendly pranks on the two banks of that dividing river. Lord Amherst courted Ranjit Singh's favourable attentions during the stormy campaigns of Burmah and Bharatpore. Ranjit Singh in return prepared a large and gorgeous tent out of costly Kashmere shawls and sent it as a present to the King of England. Lord Amherst himself conveyed it to that country on his homeward voyage after retirement. Lord Ellenborough who was then the President of the Board of Control, upon learning that Ranjit Singh was fond of horses, selected a pair of small handsome horses and sent them to Bombay by way of a return present from the English King. Sir John Malcolm was then the Governor of Bombay. He purchased an old buggy, renovated it that it might appear brand new and sent it on along with the horses by sea to Karachi where Alexander Burnes took charge of the presents and conveyed them up through the Indus with a studied purpose to discover the navigable character of that river, which before was not open to British trade. The Amirs of Sindh who were then independent rulers of their country took serious alarm at the action of the British Government in forcing the passage of the Indus. After vexatious delay and an amount of trouble, the horses and the carriage reached Lahore and were cordially received by Ranjit Singh with due ceremonials. Similar civilities continued for some years to be exchanged by both. Lord William Bentinck arranged a personal visit with Ranjit Singh for which grand and laborious preparations were made. The pomp and ceremony of this visit which took place at Rupar on 27th October, 1831 have been described by various writers in such glowing terms as will absorb the attention of any student of history today, when the curtain is finally drawn on those events and the dreamland has vanished.

One can better appreciate the importance of Ranjit Singh's career in Indian history by reference to some of his well-known contemporaries. When he was just rising on the Indian horizon, he witnessed and possibly deeply contemplated on the life and work of Tipu Sultan, the Tiger of Mysore. With all his valour and an ardent effort to preserve his independence, Tipu was

quickly finished in two successive battles by the calculating might of the British East India Company. The coincidence between the fall of Mysore and the rise of Lahore cannot but be striking as they are synchronous. Yeshwant-rao Holkar began his meteoric appearance on the Indian political scene just about the same juncture. His rapid brilliant victories and an equally rapid downfall doubtless supplied Ranjit Singh with a more moderate outlook in his future dealings with the British power, so that he did not rashly undertake the hazardous task of resisting the all-sweeping play of the British supremacy. In the autumn of 1805 Yashwantrao entered the Punjab and sought Ranjit Singh's co-operation in a combined effort to save India's independence. But Ranjit Singh wisely refrained from espousing so agreeable a cause. The exact story of the diplomatic conversations of these two soldiers of fortune forms an entertaining although little known chapter of the last phase of India's national effort. In the meantime the last Peshwa Bajirao II and his firm friend Daulatrao Sindia, the two wanton youths who had come to be charged with the responsibility of guarding India's freedom, struggled in vain to overcome the British Power by means of secret plottings ill supported by the strength of arm. The experiment was closely watched by Ranjit Singh and was used to his own advantage with uncommon shrewdness and foresight. The Bhosla Raja of Nagpur was then not a negligible factor. The celebrated Appa Saheb always observed cordial intimacy towards Ranjit Singh and appealed to him for support in his dire distress. But Ranjit Singh did not feel himself competent to espouse the lost cause of the Nagpur Prince with any hope of success, nor was the Sikh Raja oblivious of the glorious exploits of Napoleon in Europe and of his ignominious fall. The Emperor of Delhi, now only a well remembered phantom of departed glory, was Ranjit Singh's next door neighbour and appeared to him an object lesson in the art of kingship. Ranjit Singh also watched with ardent curiosity and deep interest the opposite endeavours of prominent thinkers, like Ram Mohan Roy, who were firmly convinced that political freedom was unthinkable for India unless religion and society were thoroughly reformed to suit the changing conditions of world's life and progress. Ranjit Singh's career, we may be sure, was thus a deliberate product of the vast changes that India was undergoing and can be aptly described as a practical blend of the various remedies suggested by thoughtful patriots for the regeneration of the decaying Indian nation. It is this aspect of Ranjit Singh's life which lends peculiar colour to his varied activities and which deserves to be commemorated in the history of India. There are a few persons, who like Ranjit Singh earnestly tried to profit by the environment in which they were placed. If Ranjit Singh watched the career of a Napoleon or a Tipu Sultan, of a Yashwantrao Holkar or a Ram Mohan Roy, he equally studied the astute moves of very many British soldiers and diplomats of his day, like Malcolm, Matcalfe, Elphinstone and Bentinck, who strove for the glory of their own nation. It is as a set off against these that he entertained the services of many able Frenchmen trained in European politics. It is obvious that Ranjit Singh could overcome any and every Asiatic

power whether Afghanistan, Kashmere or Sindh ; but when it came to withstand England's might, he thought twice and restrained his hand, even wisely predicting that the whole map of India was bound to be quickly all red, including his own Sikh nation after him. All the same he devoted to its service all the qualities of head and heart that he possessed.

His features and character are found vividly described in contemporary records. "Illiterate, ugly, short and even mean-looking, simple and superstitious, Ranjit Singh was yet witty, pleasing in manners, courteous in conversation, attractive, communicative, extremely imaginative by nature, and fond of learning and knowledge. A born lover of sports, intensely given to riding, hunting and shooting, having a virile physique and undoubted personal courage, he was a model figure of his day. His weakness for wine and woman, somewhat marred the moral height of his character and possibly resulted in the degeneration of his progeny."

I have no time to describe the feverish haste with which Lord Auckland sought Ratan Singh's consent to a tripartite treaty before the Afghan campaign was undertaken for restoration of the unfortunate Shah Shuja. But during these last years the Lion of the Punjab was fast declining towards a final dissolution. His greatest concern was the preservation of the Sikh power after his death ; and as he reflected upon the circumstances of the situation and upon his inability to make proper provision for future security, his feeble body, utterly worn out by years of toil and stress, was soon crushed, we may be sure, under the weight of political anxieties.

Ranjit Singh's achievements in the sphere of civil administration were no less conspicuous than those in the field of politics and military reform, but as I have already reached the limit of my paper, I will close it with one fervent request to all friends and workers. They should combine to gather all available materials of the history of Ranjit Singh, which are scattered through good many different languages ; and when they are all carefully searched, they should be fully studied and from them an authentic account of all his actions and measures should be prepared for the guidance of the future generations in their endeavour to bring about a lasting unity of this vast Indian Nation.

THE PLATONIC CONCEPT OF JUSTICE COMPARED WITH THE HINDU CONCEPT OF DHARMA

By

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The purpose of this paper is to examine (a) the similarities between the various implications of the Platonic concept of Justice and the Hindu concept of Dharma, and (b) the desirability of revisualising the conception of Justice of the basic principle of modern polity.

I.

Plato elaborated his concept of justice in his dialogue, *The Republic*. In daily speech we use the word in the sense of particular justice with its legal connotation ; in *The Republic* Plato goes beyond the law and speaks of universal justice such as underlies the whole moral life of man as part of a living society.

In order to understand the true nature of justice, Plato holds it necessary to see justice as it appears in a state—not indeed in any actual state, but in the process of its origin and development into an ideal state. For this reason he takes man and society at their lowest point, that is to say, looks upon man as the creature of physical wants and upon society as the means for the satisfaction of these wants. Plato argues that man cannot be a self-sufficient unit, but needs the help of his fellow beings to satisfy his needs, even the needs caused by appetite, much more the needs of a higher type. The complementary fact is that other men need the individual as much as he needs them, for he is able to supply them with something which they lack. “No two persons” says Plato, “are exactly alike, but each differs from each in natural endowments, one being suited for one occupation and another for another.” This implies the principle of the division of labour in society.

In tracing the development of society, Plato starts from the assumption that it was the need for food and clothing which made an organised society necessary ; but since human wants are never confined to merely material things, he adds by way of an advance to the artisans and workers who made up the original company of workers, a soldier and a ruling class, whom he calls guardians. “The bond of mutually helpful workers cannot alone constitute a state ; the fundamental condition for a proper state is the existence of a ruling class distinct from the common people who are engaged in the labour of the community.”

Having completed his account of the founding of the state, Plato proceeds to investigate the nature of justice. He asserts, as if it were a commonplace which no one could call into question, that the perfectly good state must

possess four virtues, wisdom, courage, temperance and justice. Wisdom, he argues, may be found amongst the guardians, so that the state over which they rule being constituted according to nature will be wise ; courage may be found in the class of soldiers and it can be assumed that they, similarly to the guardians, will impart their fundamental quality to the whole state ; temperance may be discovered, if not confined like the other two to the ruling class, 'in the agreement of the mutually superior and inferior as to the rule of either', 'in a sort of harmony' of all. But what of justice? Obviously, it is not to be sought in any one class, ruling or ruled, but in the relationship of all the classes. It is that virtue which underlies all the others and which 'urges every man to do his own business'. A little later Plato expounds his definition to make it denote not only the doing of one's own business but also the having of what is one's own, and thus he makes his justice include the justice of the law court as well.

But the fundamental concept of justice according to Plato, is the condition which demands of every citizen the performance of the duties of his station without interfering with other men's work. Its implications are twofold ; first, an organisation of the classes in which every citizen can find the place for which his abilities fit him, and secondly, a devotion to the state which impels every citizen to do willing service in that place. Justice, says Plato, is 'the ultimate cause and condition of the well-being of the state' ; and if the work of all is to contribute to a common result, there must be agreement between rulers and subjects that one class is to direct the work and the other is to do it under direction. Justice shows itself, therefore, in the acceptance of the conditions under which work is to be done as well as in the doing of it.

Similarly to the operation of justice in the state, Plato defines the operation of the principle of justice in man. He assumes that the division of an individual soul is like the three-fold divisions of the state : the appetites correspond to the artisan class and like it must be kept in order ; the ambition or spirit is analogous to the soldier class, superior to the artisans and, when guided by the rulers, able to help in keeping the artisans in order ; the rational part corresponds to the governing class in the state. Thus, the wise man is dominated by reason and knows what is the real interest of his whole nature ; the brave man is faithful to the principles imposed by reason, in the face of all temptations including those that come from pleasure and pain ; the temperate man is he whose passions are under control, not by coercion but because there is a harmony of the higher and the lower parts of the soul, the one ruling and the other submitting freely to be ruled. In the context of this analysis, the place that such man takes in the state will depend upon whether he is predominantly wise or brave or submissive ; but as no man is altogether devoid of any of the virtues, even the worker possessing a limited quantity of wisdom and a kind of courage, the implications of the principle of Justice, would demand not only the faithful performance by the individual of his duties as citizen but also the positive regulation of the elements of his soul in conformity with the needs of his station in life.

II.

The same, more or less, are the implications of the Hindu concept of Dhārma. In Sanskrit literature the term Dharma is quite a comprehensive one. It is used to denote such various meanings as the sacred law, duty, and custom. At times it is even used to signify religion or religious merit. But the sense in which we are employing the term Dharma is the sense in which this term was used by Hindu law-givers in relation to the end of the state.

The sense in which Dharma is to be understood in the context of this relationship is conveyed by the term *Rta* in the R̥gveda, which means the law that governs all the phenomena of nature, it being taken for granted that there is an underlying order which the phenomena of nature do follow, a law which they observe. In the Brāhmaṇas the word Dharma merely displaces the term *Rta*. Dharma comes from the root *dhṛ-* which means 'to hold', and it stands for the principle which holds the whole universe together, physical as well as moral : it means the cosmic order as well as the law governing human society. For the purpose of our discussion it is the second meaning that is important and we shall, therefore, analyse its various implications.

Dharma is conceived as having been created by the Brahman or the Supreme Deity ; moral authority embedded in law is supposed to be meta-physical in its character ; law-givers are known as the declarers of truth. This is not very different from the underlying assumption in the Platonic concept of Justice. Plato makes a distinction between opinion and science, opinion being the knowledge of particular facts and events, and science being the knowledge of the universals or ideas that explain these particulars ; he ascribes the knowledge of science to his philosopher-kings whom he conceives as having a grasp upon life as a whole ; and in the ideal Republic he believes it to be the function of the philosopher-kings to give everything its right place and to prescribe in general the duties incidental to that place. One difference, however, between the Platonic concept and the Hindu concept is there, and this goes right to root of the whole matter : while the Platonic concept was conceived primarily in relation to the purpose of man in society, the Hindu view, instead of relating the conception of Dharma to the purpose of man in society, took an entirely different path and argued that the existing social order was in itself the manifestation of the Dharma.

And once the existing order of society, with all its heirarchical arrangements, came to be looked upon as Dharma, the way was opened for the extension of the scope of that concept. Every succeeding law-giver satisfied himself by sanctifying any custom or usage which in his view was healthy and useful as a part of Dharma ; and by the 1st century B. C. not only the duties of the various castes and orders but also the instructions as to the proper way of appeasing certain deities thus became integral parts of the Dharma. The concept of Dharma became thoroughly definitised ; out of the vague concept of the law holding together the whole universe, animate and

inanimate, there merged the concrete concept of Svadharma, i.e. the concretised list of duties which are proper for any particular station or class of society.

The Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras, all came to have their own prescribed Svadharma. Similarly there came into being a definite scheme of Svadharma for the Brahmacārin, the Gṛhastha, the Vānaprastha and the Sannyāsin. Again, Svadharma came to lay down duties for peace times as well as for times of war. Thus, an elaborate classification of Dharma springs up and it becomes recognised as the highest duty of an individual to fulfil his Svadharma in all aspects of life.

This definition of Dharma in terms of Svadharma marks a strong point of distinction between the Hindu view and the Platonic view of justice. The Platonic concept of justice was essentially idealistic and therefore dynamic in its operation; the Hindu concept of Dharma became practical and therefore static in its implications. The Platonic state presented a divine pattern, eternal in the heavens, by aspiring towards which statesmen could make themselves and their states better; the Hindu state, by enabling every individual and class to perform the duties incidental to its station in the scheme of social organisation and no more, became an agency for the perpetuation of the *status quo*.

III.

Dharma is the central principle of political obligation in the Hindu state; and loyalty to this central principle is to be expressed by each observing his Svadharma. But if Svadharma is so conceived that it inculcates the real nature of personality as expressing itself in the pursuit of common good, it is only necessary that there should be a satisfactory basis for the state. This unfortunately the Indian thinkers failed to evolve. They applied themselves to metaphysical problems rather than to the problems of human conduct; their quest was a religious quest, a quest after reality. "The highest good of the Upanishads," says McKENZIE,¹ "is at its best a state of being in which all ethical distinctions are transcended". The Buddha laid down the mutual duties of parents and children, of pupils and teachers, and of husband and wife; but even he failed to provide the logical foundation of a truly ethical life, *viz.*, the conception of individuality, for to him there was neither the individual soul nor the universal soul. The Bhagavad-Gītā made some definite advance inasmuch as morality took here to itself a content far more definitely positive than it had in the other writings; but even here the question of the sanction behind man's Dharma was not discussed. The argument that Dharma was after all Dharma and that God had willed things as they are, cannot be a satisfactory basis for morality.

Again, the Hindu view of the ultimate good of life precluded the possibility of due attention to that aspect of an individual's life which seeks satis-

1. J. McKENZIE : *Hindu Ethics* [O. U. P. 1922].

faction only in comradeship. The whole emphasis of Hindu philosophic thought is upon regarding the world of ordinary experience as a barrier blocking the way to the realisation of reality. The performance of various duties is at best a mere discipline; it is not looked upon as the fundamental basis of the social well-being of the community. And the conception of Svadharma was so interpreted as to emphasise the possibility of each individual attaining the final goal by doing his duty, no attempt was ever made to stress the need for a common life of endeavour to attain the final goal. "It may be," says Mr. ANJARIA,² "that this insistence upon the absolute necessity of every one doing his own duty irrespective of the consideration as to whether others are doing the same was intended in the main to facilitate the practical working of the whole social structure", but the danger of such insistence is quite obvious; for such emphasis inevitably fostered particularity and exclusiveness. Thus, even while the state is considered by the Hindus an essential institution, along with the caste, the family and the guild, as providing for the individual the proper milieu to observe his Dharma, it never became an ideal of common life that it was to the Greeks.

Anyhow, the state that emerged out of its association with Dharma was in many ways a quite peculiar state. It did not constitute, as in Platonic thought, the ideal to which the actual social order would seek to approximate and reach; it sanctified the actual itself. Again, since the emphasis of Dharma was unmistakably on self-sufficiency, all the duties prescribed under it having reference merely to the attainment of the individual's own perfection without any reference to positive social service as such, the state was not looked upon as necessary for the satisfaction of mutual need for protection or for eradicating the various hindrances to the fullest development of the members but merely as an institution, like the family, which forms a natural stage in human social development. The individual, that is to say, was not conceived as a product of the various social relationships into which he enters but as a unit by himself seeking self-realisation through the disinterested performance of his prescribed duties. This, as all political thinkers in the West from Plato and Aristotle down to Bosanquet and Marx have pointed out, is a quite inadequate view of the nature of individuality. An individual shorn of his various social relationships is nothing better than an abstraction; and therefore a political theory of the state which refuses to concern itself with a definite system of civic rights and obligations is quite illusory and worthless.

IV.

It will be clear from this that the conception of Dharma as it has actually operated in the Hindu political thought has been vitiated by two defects—first, the tendency to identify the actual social order with the Dharma and

2. *Nature and Grounds of Political obligation in the Hindu State* [Longmans, 1935].

thus to suppress the claims of individuality ; and secondly, the failure to regulate the principle of the Dharma to incorporate social existence and to human life as a unit in the life of society. There is no inherent and inevitable relationship between the conception of Dharma and these two tendencies of the Hindu political thought ; and it will, in our view, be highly useful to revisualise the old Hindu ideal of Dharma, if that could be done in isolation from these tendencies.

The conception of Dharma is a highly valuable conception, teaching the individual that he can be true to his real self only if he keeps pace with the rhythm of the universe. It gives the individual an insight into how his diverse loyalties may be ordered. It provides for "man's full comprehensive life, satisfying personal as well as social, material and spiritual wants on the basis of a social federation securing to each group and its members their rights as well as their duties in a universally recognised order"³. It saves us from the problems that are incidental to any thorough-going theory of sovereignty which looks upon the state as a closed institution unrelated to the rest of the world, for under this conception "the accumulated tradition of the race is idealised as a system of social values which, instead of being created and conserved by the sovereign fiat of a central organ, themselves create and conserve an infinite multiplicity of organs, whether in the form of guilds or castes, *sanghas* or communities, *gaṇas*, *samūhas* or classes, each of which accordingly partakes of a quasi-independent jurisdiction and participates in the common sovereignty of the Dharma of which the community is the body."⁴

Rightly ordered and expanded, therefore, on modern lines, the conception of Dharma should furnish the basis of a new polity which in its complex co-operation and co-ordination of multiple groups will be far more satisfying and successful in the state and inter-state construction of the future than the monistic organs of the present statal organisation. But the Dharma-rājya of the future cannot be created on the foundations of an iniquitous social order. The underlying ideal of the social order to be embodied in the Dharma must be to assure to every individual the possibility of his fullest development in harmony with the interests of the state. This ideal will of course have to be secured by the creation of suitable institutions ; but institutions must be regarded merely as instruments of life and not as ends in themselves. The tendency to regard existing institutions as having a divine claim to the loyalty of the individual was one of the serious pitfalls that the Hindu concept of Dharma inevitably encountered ; and it is at all events desirable to keep away from that pitfall. This can be done by acknowledging the ultimate allegiance of the individual to the ideal instead of the existing scheme of actual institutions. The desire to approximate to the ideal will lead to perpetual vigilance on the part of the body politic ; and perpetual vigilance is the condition of liberty.

3. R. MOOKERJEE : *Democracies of the East*, p. 100.

4. R. MOOKERJEE : *ibid.*, pp. 157-8.

CHARACTERISTICS OF JINISM*

By

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It has been now conclusively proved that Jinism is not at all an offshoot of Buddhism¹ but it is an independent and original system of thought claiming perhaps more antiquity than what is generally ascribed to it. As a system by itself, it has, like its rival schools of thought, many outstanding characteristics in almost all of its branches, namely, logic, philosophy, physics, metaphysics, cosmology, biology, ethics, astrology, astronomy, etc. It has made a valuable contribution to the development of ancient Aryan thought and culture. However, it is not possible for me to give in this lecture a detailed sketch of its various characteristics. As I hope that you are already in the know of the fundamental principles of all the leading schools of thought in India, I shall be content at the moment simply with outlining some of the prominent features of the Jaina thought and culture.

(1) I shall first of all discuss the Jaina conception of Philosophy as it has a direct bearing on the life we ought to live. Philosophy is, unfortunately, such a term, as has the fate of having been ambiguously employed, thereby often giving rise to much confusion even in the scholarly world regarding its significance, aims and objects. Aristotle, for example, has defined philosophy to be "the science of the first principles or beginnings". Another Western scholar interprets it in the sense of entirely unified knowledge, while according to the third it is nothing more or less than the science of the Absolute. Thus there are as many interpretations placed on the term philosophy as there are authors. Which shows that the West gives us no clear-cut definition of the functions of Philosophy.

In my humble opinion, among the Eastern schools of thought it is Jinism only which offers the practical solution as to what Philosophy stands for. It adopts a matter-of-fact attitude, instead of indulging in wild theories, as other schools have idly done, and defines philosophy as a harmonious attempt of the head and the heart for the removal of impediments which block the way to Right Vision into the metaphysics of thoughts and things, which vision leads us to Right Knowledge of the whole universe and also of our duties to ourselves, to our neighbours and to the world around. Thus the Jaina definition of it, which is based on such *sūtras* as नाण किरियाहिं मोक्खो² or सम्मग्गदर्शनज्ञान चरित्राणि मोक्षमार्गः³, includes in itself an often-too-much-neglected practical aspect of our life.

* Extension Lecture, delivered on September 16, 1939.

1. E. J. RAPSON : *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 152.

2. JINABHADRAĠA᠆ KṢAMĀŚRAMA᠆, *Viṣeṣāvaśyaka Bhāṣya* : Cāthā 3.

3. Vācaka UMĀSVĀTI : *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* : Chap. 1, *Sūtra* 1 :
HARIBHADRASŪRI : *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, Verse 53.

Taking philosophy then as a means to obtain a condition *par excellence* through Right Behaviour which arises from Right Knowledge based on Right Vision or Right Belief, we can at once see that the definition of philosophy as advanced by Jinism varies fundamentally from the idle theories of the rival schools of the East and the West.

It is interesting to note at this stage how this practical attitude of the Jainas, as seen from its outlook on definition of philosophy, has affected its views concerning the soul.

This world at once resolves itself into two main groups, to wit, the cogitative substance and the non-cogitative substance.⁴ The cogitative substance or the sentient self or the soul which is technically styled *Jīva* in Jaina terminology differs essentially from the *Puruṣa* of Sāṃkhya philosophy which is entirely inert or simply a spectator.⁵ The latter is neither the agent nor the experiencer, like the Jaina *Jīva*. It has also the fate to vary from the basic conception of soul of the Vedānta philosophy⁶ which is technically called *Jīvātmā*. It is nothing more or less than *Avikṛta Brahma* confined in this mortal coil through *avidyā*. It is this immutability of the Vedānta soul from which the Jaina conception disagrees. From the phenomenal point of view (*parīyāyastika naya*) it is ever changing according to Jinism. It has also to record its protest against the Buddhistic idea of soul which is a *viññāna skandha* or a *santāni*⁷ dying at every moment, because the Jaina *Jīva* is not always changing ; it is *nitya* from the nomenal standpoint (*dravyāstika naya*). It amounts, then, to saying that the Jaina *Jīva* is *nityānitya*.⁸ It is a practical hypothesis inasmuch as it admits of being verified from our everyday experience. It is best fitted to explain rationally and not dogmatically many of the anomalies which accumulate round the conceptions of *Jīva* or other philosophies which are, it would seem from this, not true to experience. It makes the unobjectionable features of other schools of thought its own and putting its original colour on all of them, tries to soften down the hostile elements existing between one school of thought and the other. Thus we are justified in saying that Jinism makes a valuable contribution to the philosophic world, which is independent, original and of real worth.

(2) I am now passing on to *Syādvāda*, which I believe to be one of the most striking inventions of the Jainas regarding their philosophy. We noted above that the Jaina *Jiva* is both *nitya* and *anitya*. This *nityānitya* doctrine of the Jaina *Jiva* is a necessary corollary of *syādvāda* which, let it be said in justice to Jinism, has received a rough and undeserving treatment at the hands of Śrī *Ṣaṅkarācārya*.

4. NEMICANDRA : *Deva-Samgaha*, verse 1.

5. ISVARAKRṢṢṢA : *Sāṃkhyakārikā*, verse 3.

6. *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā*, verse 2; MADHUSŪDANA SARASVATĪ : *Advaitasiddhi* (Nir-
naya Sāgar Edition, 1917), p. 830.

7. *Visuddhimagga*, p. 585 ; *Bodhicarya*, p. 334 ; *Tattvasaṃgraha*, *Kārikās*, 1877, 1889.

8. KUNDAKUNDA : *Samayasāra*, verses 349-350.

Syādvāda is the doctrine of Relativity of Truth. It undertakes to show that every other philosophy, at the most, contains statements of partial truth, while it itself should be accredited with making the exposition of truth *in toto*. It will appear at the first sight that it makes a bold announcement but it *does* prove it by devising a network of *syād asti*, *syān nāsti*, etc. It must be said in fairness to Jinism that it is really here that Jinism surpasses all other forms of faiths and creeds. It accommodates in its fold both the theoretical and the practical aspects of our life. *Syādvāda* therefore is a distinctly original contribution of the Jainas to the Indian Logic. Every religion in India has to make room, and to provide at the same time, for perfect knowledge if it wants to live perennially. It has also been the common duty of such a living religion to teach the suffering humanity to go beyond the phenomenon, the mere form, and not to seek solace there. Jinism is by no means an exception to this rule but the method formulated and employed is no less original than different. For the acquisition, then, of such a perfect knowledge, or better say, for one's own realization, it has devised and developed a philosophy of its own which goes under the popular name of Anekāntavāda which is a peculiar feature of the Jaina Logic. "It is obvious that regarding a given Padārtha we can make from a divergent point of view, different and yet contradictory statements."⁹ A single statement can never put you in the knowledge of a thing in its entirety. Moreover a thing can also be viewed from the standpoints of matter, space, time and mode. In short, a thing cannot be comprehended at one glance or attempt as it has got numberless aspects or qualities or facts. Dr. DAS GUPTA seems to be lending support to this view when he speaks in his *History of Indian Philosophy*: "Since the most contrary characteristics of infinite variety may be associated with a thing, affirmation made from whatever standpoint cannot be regarded as absolute."¹⁰ In other words, *Syādvāda* is a synthetic presentation of innumerable viewpoints. In his *Religions of India*, HOPKINS writes about *Syādvāda* in the following terms: "In contrast to the Nihilistic Buddhist, the Jaina assumes a doubtful attitude so that he is termed the may-be philosopher or a *Syādvādin* in opposition to the Buddhist philosopher of the void"¹¹. Can we not say that HOPKINS misrepresents *Syādvāda*? Sir RADHAKRISHNAN's following verdict on *Syādvāda* can be well quoted against this partial and hence incorrect opinion of the author of *Religions of India*. Sir RADHAKRISHNAN observes in his *Indian Philosophy*: "The view is called the *Syādvāda* since it holds all knowledge to be only probable. Every position gives us only a perhaps, a may be or a *Syāt*."¹²

It is never possible for us to affirm or deny in absolute terms about a particular thing the very nature of which consists of endless complexity, is filmy and uncertain. Distinguished scholars have maintained an opinion that

9. Dr. BELVALKAR and RANADE : *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 112.

10. Dr. DAS GUPTA : *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 179.

11. HOPKINS : *The Religions of India*, p. 291.

12. Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN : *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 302.

Syādvāda is the doctrine of Scepticism.¹³ This is also a glaring mistake which needs be corrected by saying that it is the Science of the Assertion of alternative possibilities.¹⁴ It is only through it that one can look at a thing with a wide and liberal view. And it is only through it that one can review a thing in all its bearings and relationships. Ever-progressing character of Reality is always elusive and therefore admits only of relative or conditional predication. The fact is this ; it always and under any circumstances recognises the possibility of predication. Every proposition is true but only under certain restrictions.

I will close the discussion of this unique feature of Jaina Logic and Philosophy by saying that it smooths all the apparent differences, which supply the ground to several philosophies, without sacrificing anything of intrinsic and eternal value and uproots that vanity—that ego the fruitful soil for those envenomed passions, and finally leads one to emancipation—the *summum bonum* of life. It makes us what we really ought to be. I recommend Malliṣeṇa's *Syādvādamañjarī* in this connection to those interested.

(3) I now come to *Nayavāda*. It should be said at the outset that this also forms a part and parcel of Jaina thought and culture and is older than the highly complicated Syādvāda as will be seen from its simple technique.

Nayavāda is the second means of understanding things, Pramāṇa being the first. It must have been clear to you from the foregoing remarks that all things are full of diversities, qualities and relations. To be brief, the reals are such complex entities as can allow being seen from different aspects. And Naya is a technical name given to this specific act of apprehending. Every such act unfolds a part of the infinite meaning to which one is ushered through the gateway of Nayas which are theoretically infinite as the characteristics of the reals are also infinite.¹⁵ But the Jaina writers have compressed them into seven groups. These are Naigama, Saṃgraha, Vyavahāra, Rjūsūtra, Śabda, Samabhirudha and Evambhūta.

These are further brought under two main divisions, namely, Arthanaya consisting of the first four, and Śabdanaya comprising the remaining three. Then again they are otherwise classed :—The first three coming under Drayastika Naya while the remaining four belonging to Paryayastika Naya¹⁶. The former class has a reference to the substantial aspects, and the latter to the modificatory.

As there is a close affinity between the outer structures of Syādvāda and Nayavāda there is every possibility of mistaking one for the other. But let me sound a warning that such a mistake shall be considered a howler. There

13. See particularly E. HULTZSCH : *Ephigraphia Indica*, VII (1902-1903), p. 113.

14. FLEET : *Indian Antiquary*, VII, p. 107.

15. JINABHADRAĀṆI KṢAMĀŚRAMAṆA : op. cit., verse 2180-2185.

16. SIDDHASENA DIVĀKARA : *Sanmati Prakaraṇa*, First chapt., verses 3-4-5 ; DEVASENASŪRI : *Nayacakrasaṃgraha*, verse 11.

is really speaking nothing in common between them except that they both are the expressions of the same point of view. But for this reason it is too much to consider them as two stages of a single process of thought. They should rather be traced to separate sources united in a common point of view.

JINABHADRA GAṆIKŚAMĀŚRAMAṆA'S *Viśeṣavasyakabhāṣya* contains an exhaustive and elaborate elucidation of Nayavāda to which I would like you to refer to get a detailed conception of it.

(4) I shall now deal with the Jaina metaphysics. As important as Syādvāda and as original as Nayavāda but occupying a less showy position is its doctrine of Sat (Reality) which is defined as उत्तादव्ययघ्राव्य युक्ते सत्¹⁷ and which, like other two doctrines mentioned just now, namely, Syādvāda and Nayavāda, is a prominent feature of Jaina Thought and Culture which takes its stand exclusively on golden mean instead of erring on any of the extremes.

Jinism calls that a substance which is *Sat* and which has not to depend on anything else for its assertion and continuation. It characterizes it (*sat*) as that which stays on in and through its own qualities or modificatory changes. It (*sat*) stands under, supports and holds together the qualities and modificatory changes¹⁸ which become manifest through originations and destructions in and through which the substance asserts and maintains its own existence and continuance at the time of its interaction with other things.

Reality or *sat* according to Jaina Metaphysics has neither the beginning nor the end. It is always noted for its appearance and disappearance in the midst of permanence. At the first sight it appears to be a very peculiar doctrine, and it is so. According to HEGEL the nature of Reality is dialectical. It consists of thesis and antithesis harmonized and held together by synthesis. It can be, then, fairly admitted that this doctrine of HEGEL is fully reflected in the Jaina doctrine of *Sat*, which can also be compared to a biological principle of metabolism which asserts through the two opposite forces of anabolism and katabolism. And just so the Jaina Reality has got both the positive and negative aspects held together in a synthetic form by its own complex nature.

Such being the case of Reality according to Jaina metaphysics it follows that it should maintain as it does its identity and stability only through an incessant process of changes consisting of origination and disintegration—identity in diversity and permanency through change. Stability and change are so interlinked with each other that they cannot be isolated though they can be differentiated from each other in thought and speech.

This triple nature of Reality¹⁹ has given rise to various other philosophical

17. VĀKA UMĀSVĀTI : *op. cit.*, 5. 29.

18. VĀKA UMĀSVĀTI : *op. cit.*, 5. 37.

KUNDAKUNDA : *Pañcāstikāyasāra*, verses 12-13; SIDDHASENA DIVĀKARA : *op. cit.*, First Chapt., verse 12.

19. MALLASENA : *Syādvādamañjarī*, commentary on verse 21. KUNDAKUNDA : *Pañcāstikāyasāra*, verse 8.

doctrines related to Jaina metaphysics according to which the ultimate reals are five in number.

These ultimate reals are, to put in different terms, the primary elements which are at the basis of the cosmos. They are *jīva*, *puḍgala*, *dharma*, *adharma* and *ākāśa*,²⁰ or five *Astikāyas*. *Aslikāya*, again, is a technical term meaning spatial relation, which is different from volume connected with matter.²¹ Of these five *Astikāyas*, *puḍgala* alone is *mūrta* and the others are *amūrta* even though they are *Astikāyas* or existences having spatial relations. So this world, at the foundation of which exist these reals, is neither exclusively composed of disconnected things without any link like the loose parts of a broken chain nor constituted of a single unity without any difference or dualism whatsoever. It is our common experience that it has both the elements of unity and difference. This universe appears merely as an entity when we view it simply from the standpoint of unity, dismissing temporarily from our mind the thoughts of mutual differences which exist between things and knowledge. This standpoint of Unity is no doubt comprehensive, but it does not help us in our practical life. For a solution of it we have to fall back upon the standpoint of difference. This is exactly what we very often say, a quarrel between a fact and a fable. This is also a different side of that great law that there is always unity in difference and difference in unity. This universe according to Jinism, is a permanent canvas on which are always displayed new compositions and decompositions, unities and disunities, associations and dissociations. Here also, as in the definition of *Jīva*, Jinism takes its stand exclusively on golden mean and instead of erring on any of the extremes tries to reconcile the antagonistic schools of thought which lay exclusive emphasis either on the eternal or the ephemeral aspect of a thing.

The favourite tenet of the Jaina metaphysics is the trinity of *Utpāda*, *Vyaya* and *Dhrauvya*. It runs through and under cogitative substance and non-cogitative substance of which this universe is composed. This is very well explained by a line from *Syādvādamāñjarī* : वस्तुत्वं चोत्पादव्ययघ्नौद्वयामकम्. This law holds good in both the worlds animate and inanimate. VĀCAKA UMĀSVĀMĪ also supports this view in his *Tattvārtha Sūtra* by saying उत्पादव्ययघ्नौव्ययुक्तं सत्. Here the word *Utpāda* does not mean any new product or creation, inasmuch as it does not believe that the world has a beginning or an end. *Sat* or an Entity is a permanent substratum on which there is an incessant display of *Utpāda* and *Vyaya*. The following verse from HARI BHADRASŪRI'S *Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya* may well be quoted here :

उत्पादव्ययघ्नौव्ययुक्तं यत्सत्तदिष्यते ।

अनन्तधर्मात्मके वस्तु तेनोक्तं मानगोचरः²² ॥

WARREN in his book called *Jainism* expresses an opinion to the effect that

20. KUNDAKUNDA : *Pañcāstikāyasāra*, verse 4.

21. KUNDAKUNDA : *ibid.*, verse 5.

22. HARI BHADRASŪRI : *Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, verse 57,

this *guṇa* of origination (*utpāda*) is just to show that in this permanent universe there is always origination of its modes or manifestations.²³

The sum and substance of the whole discussion regarding Jaina Metaphysics may be said to be that it has made room for the two contradictory phases—eternal and ephemeral. Destruction is involved in origination and origination ends into destruction. There is an incessant flow of these two on the permanent bed of *sat*. Being, as it is testified by experience, is that which involves a permanent unit which is incessantly losing some qualities and gaining new ones.²⁴

(5) Now let us discuss biology. It is well known that the Jinism is a pre-Christian religion and biology is a product of scientific age. So it is not legitimate to expect a well-defined enunciation of biological principles in a system before us. Still however the fragmentary material which is at present available is so decisive as to land us on correct estimation of its principles from which wild and fantastic notions pertaining to gods and goblins, denizens and devils should be safely kept apart.

Original research of Jaina biology consists in assuming and asserting the organic unity in the plant and the animal world. Vegetable kingdom is clearly organic. Its nature has been keenly observed and minutely described.

There are two main divisions, namely, the plant world and the animal world. The first group possesses one sense throughout—the sense of contract.²⁵ The second is sub-divided into four types, starting from insect such as earth-worm and ending in man having two, three, four or five senses as the case may be.

Another innovation, as original as the former, is its spirited exposition of the existence of microscopic beings. These are technically styled *sūkṣma ekendriya jīvas* or microscopic beings having only one sense.²⁶ Earth, water, fire and air are the places for them to dwell in. Existence of these organisms in fire is a little too unscientific but we need have no hesitation in the case of other three as they are fully established by modern scientific researches.

(6) Now I am turning to Jaina Physics. When we look at this universe, the very first idea that strikes us is the idea of order which is technically called cosmos. The leaf of the tree does not move ; why ? It moves ; why ? What is the principle—the law underlying and governing its motion and its rest ? This is the case everywhere in this universe. There is order, not disorder. There is cosmos, not chaos.

This occupied the mind of the ancient seers. And they attempted to give a philosophic interpretation which was in keeping with the basic elements of their systems. The Vedāntins said that it is Parabrahma which permeates through the animate and the inanimate world. It is the instrumental and the

23. Herbert WARREN : *Jainism*, pp. 22-23.

24. Dr. DAS GUPTA : *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 175.

25. PANNAVANA : I, (first Pāda) ; *Jivājivābhigama* : I (first Pratipatti).

26: *Jivājivābhigama* : I (first Pratipatti).

material cause of everything.²⁷ The Sāṃkhyas advanced a theory of the evolution of Prakṛti which was at the root of everything.²⁸ The Jainas had also their own say in the matter.²⁹ Let us see in the following few lines the chain of reasoning adopted by them in order to provide for and justify order in the universe.

They start with a fundamental hypothesis that *jīva* and *puḍgala* can be at the most a material cause and no more. In order to give adequate place to instrumental cause, they had to devise some other principles controlling and conditioning motion and rest, to which they gave the technical names of *dharma* and *adharma*—the essential principles of Jaina Physics.

They have, moreover, invested the *jīva* and the *puḍgala* with the power of motion by virtue of which they can go to any place even in the world beyond. If they are not made to move, they will stick fast to the place and the point for ever, thereby making progress impossible. So they wanted *jīva* and *puḍgala* to move and to rest in such a way as to beget order and keep it. It was desirable not to disturb the existing order of things and at the same time to accommodate for progress. They were quite conscious that they had to steer clear of these difficulties which have overtaken and perhaps upset the rival schools of thought.

So they invented the two physical principles called *Dharma* and *Adharma*. They have here a distinct and specific implication. In other words, they are not used here in the ordinary sense of religion and irreligion as in Jaina ethics and elsewhere.

Dharma is allotted a duty of supplying free movement to the *jīva* and *puḍgalā* and the function entrusted to *adharma* is to arrest wanton movements of the flying *jīva* and *puḍgala*. So they are the regulating factors—the instrumental causes of motion and rest—of progress and inertia.

They are not the absolute principles ; they have therefore to move with full regard to and in complete harmony with each other. For if the former alone is to work, the world will be out of joint ; its centre will shift and consequently it will be out of its axis. And if the latter is to function alone with complete disregard to the former there will be cosmic paralysis. The long and short of it is that they are not principles-in-themselves.

Now let us see what is the Jaina description of the nature of these principles, and conclude.

They have neither the qualities of *jīva* nor of *puḍgala*. They are non-physical, non-discrete and non-atomic. They are entirely simple, that is to say, they are a single unit throughout. Their full denominations are *Dharmāstikāya* and *Adharmāstikāya*. They are neither corporeal nor have they any form. They are neither light nor heavy. They are also not the objects

27. MADHUSŪDANA SARASVATĪ : *Advaitasiddhi* (Nirṇayasāgara edition, 1917), pp. 760-767.

28. ŚRĪPĀDAŚĀSTRĪ : *Dvādaśadarśanasopānāvalī* (1938), p. 134.

29. KUNDAKUNḌĀCĀRYA : *Pañcāstikāyasāra*, verses 90-96,

of sense-perception. Their existence is merely felt and inferred through their functions. They are hypothetical assumptions. This, in short, is the description of the Jaina physics.

Now I shall discuss *Ahimsā*. *Ahimsā* and Jinism are so vitally connected with each other that the real conception of Jaina thought and culture shall for ever remain incomplete without a reference to *Ahimsā*. The popular belief that Jaina Dharma is *Ahimsā Dharma* is well-founded. It is the backbone of Jaina Ethics as *Anekāntavāda* is the backbone of Jaina Philosophy. Of the three constituents of Jinism *Ahimsā* or non-injury is the first.³⁰ It is the first and the foremost qualification required by one who wants to walk on the path leading to a land of joy, glory and immortality. It is the first of the five vows and has got to be observed irrespective of Time and Space. It means non-injury to any living organism (moving or non-moving),³¹ small or great, whether it is a beast or a bird, an insect or an animal. Not only should one not practise injury in action but one should not do so even in thought and speech. This much does not suffice. It further stipulates that not only should one directly do injury but one should not make others do it and also should not approve when one is actually doing injury.

This makes all the difference which exists there between the Jaina and the Bauddha conception of *Ahimsā*. The Bauddhas say that one should not directly deal injury. That is all. This gives them a license, in a way, to buy meat from a butcher and use it, seeking satisfaction that they are exempt from the sin which they might have otherwise incurred.

This is what is preached and actually practised by them. On the contrary the Jainas hold that not only is this not permissible but morally culpable also. It is expressly laid down in the Jaina doctrine of *Ahimsā* that injury to life should not be inflicted, encouraged and approved in mind, speech and deed. So there is a clear line of demarcation between the same doctrines as conceived by both the rival schools of thought—Jinism and Buddhism. If the principle of *Ahimsā* is to be rightly and rigidly followed, the nine types of cruelty, as defined above, should be abandoned at any cost.

MAHĀVĪRA has, no doubt, intentionally made the principle of *Ahimsā* as perfect in detail as was possible for him with a view to using it as a successfully counteracting force against the *himsā* which ran riot in his days. It was his earnest wish—nay, the mission of his life—to humanize the inhuman society, to give tone of the diseased morality of his time. Before a few decades this Jaina principle of *Ahimsā* was ridiculed. But now we are made to acknowledge, thanks to Mahātmā GANDHI, the wide range of its infinite possibilities and applications as a spiritual force. It was formerly considered as a weakness of human mind; now it is a colossal force never failing when everything else has failed. The fable of bygone days is assuming to-day the force of a fact. What Jaina *Ahimsā* is, and can really be, has been amply illustrated by the life of GANDHIJI.

30. *Desvealiya sutta*, I, 1.

31. HEMACANDRA : *Yogaśāstra*, chapt. I, verse 20.

(8) Last but not the least is the doctrine of *Karma*. This doctrine of *karma* is the keystone supporting the grand edifice of Jaina Ethics. *Karma* is neither prior nor posterior to soul but it is attached to it from time immemorial. In other words, its metaphysical entity has neither the beginning nor the end. So the relation between the *karma* and the soul—the deed and the doer—is one of a phenomenal conjunction. This universe including hells and heavens, solar system and the lunar system, and an ant or an elephant, a microbe or a man, and all the sentient things, is thus subject to this inexorable Law of Causation otherwise called Law of *karma*; and omnipotent is the effect thereof in this phenomenal universe. The life as we have lived in the hoary past, as we live at the present moment, and as we shall live in the unknown future was, is and shall never be an allotment of a power, unquestionable and unknowable, working upon us from without but was, is and shall for ever be a resultant force—a composite effect of the deeds we have done, are doing and shall do in future. The deed without a doer is a non-entity and the doer cannot escape from the clutches of the deeds he has done, good or bad.³² The smiles and the frowns of an autocratic ruler do not and cannot mend or mar our future. The prince will be reduced to a state of a pauper if his deeds are not princely; a pauper will elevate himself to the position of a prince if he is princely within. We have to work out our own freedom from within; we should not watch and wait for the favours of a power existing elsewhere outside our soul. It declares at once the dignity and the equality of all the souls in any forms of their existences and teaches that every soul stands erect and independent of the so-called inscrutable will and power of any superior Being. Thus we are the makers and the moulders of our own fate: we are the architects of our own fortune; it is we who do, and that is why it is we who can undo also. This is exactly the position of *karma* philosophy in the Jaina system, which differs from Vedāntic conception inasmuch as it debars the all-pervading influence of a Supreme Being from stepping in. For a detailed study of this unique principle one should refer to DEVENDRASŪRI'S *Karma-granthas*.

By way of concluding remarks I must mention that the important message which Jinism has to convey to the suffering humanity is the attainment of emancipation that can only be effected by successfully and simultaneously employing right belief, right knowledge and right conduct. These three are equally emphasized by Jinism; hence an isolation of any one of the three is denounced outright. There are religious schools which lay most emphasis either on *Bhakti* such as the *Bhāgavata* school, or only on *Karma* such as the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* school. But according to Jinism no such onesided emphasis is acceptable as the correct path leading to emancipation.

To effect a cure of a malady, faith in the efficacy of a medicine, knowledge of its use and actual taking of it: these three together are essential, so also

32. SIDDHASENA DIVĀKARA : *Dvātriṃśikā*, first verse, 26.

to get emancipation, faith in the efficacy of Jinism, its knowledge and actual practising of it : these three are quite indispensable. The universal malady of worldly misery which every soul is suffering from can be cured by this triple panacea—the *ratnatraya* as it has been technically called.

The high value of Jinism consists in its adopting a practical attitude to philosophy, metaphysics, ethics etc. It always takes its stand, let me say once more, on golden mean, instead of erring on any of the extremes, as we saw in its definition of philosophy—of soul and of *sat* as well as in the discussions about *Syādvāda* and *Nayavāda*. It tries, wherever possible, to reconcile the antagonistic schools of thought just as we saw while discussing Jaina metaphysics. It is a favourite dogma of Jinism to evaluate a thing in terms of practical utility. It accepts only that which is logically tenable as illustrated through its karmic doctrine which dismisses the autocracy and the interference of a Supreme Being.

From the foregoing remarks it may be seen that Jinism has made a substantial contribution to the development of Aryan thought and culture. Its philosophy is strictly dualistic as it believes in a separate existence of soul and matter. Its ethics is grounded on the principle of *Ahimsā*. Its attitude towards rival scholars of thought is solely regulated by its philosophy of *Anekānta*. It is a system really abounding in principles of Peace and Tolerance.

HISTORICAL DATA IN BHĀSA

By

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The thirteen Bhāsa plays can be classified under (i) the *Mahābhārata* plays, viz., the *Dūtavākya*, *Dūtaghaṭokaca*, *Karṇabhāra*, *Ūrubhṅga*, *Madhyama* and *Pañcarātra*; (ii) the *Rāmāyaṇa* plays, viz., the *Pratimā* and *Abhiṣeka*; (iii) the *Kṛṣṇa* play, viz., the *Bālacarita*; (iv) romances or legendary plays, viz., the *Avimāraka* and *Cārudatta*; and (v) the Udayana plays, viz., the *Pratijñāyauḡandharāyaṇa* and *Svapnavāsavadatta*.¹

Turning first to the *Mahābhārata* plays, we find that the poet has taken some central ideas from the epic and has introduced slight changes with a view to characterization, etc. In the *Madhyama*, *Pañcarātra* and *Dūtaghaṭokaca*, however, the poet has only the characters from the epic and has invented stories around them.² There is no basis in the *Mahābhārata* for the Bhīma-Hiḍimbā visit as portrayed in the *Madhyama*, or for the sacrifice of Duryodhana and his stipulation with Droṇa and the final cow-raid with Abhimanyu to his side as told in the *Pañcarātra*, or finally for the embassy of Ghaṭotkaca which forms the plot of the *Dūtaghaṭokaca*. The embassy of Kṛṣṇa is described in the *Dūtavākya*, but the picture-scroll therein is a pure invention of the poet. The *Karṇabhāra* deals with the parting of Karṇa with his armour as a gift to Indra in disguise; but Bhāsa has transferred the incident to the battle-field. The *Ūrubhṅga* is concerned with the pounding of the thighs of Duryodhana in the *gadāyuddha*.

After what Shri MUNSHI has written on the historicity of the Bharata war, one is justified, I think, in treating the incidents relating to the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas in the epic as purely romantic having no historical value as such.³ The changes, introduced in the epic story while adapting it for his plays by Bhāsa, were for specific requirements. Thus, the innovations in the *Pañcarātra* and *Ūrubhṅga* are intended to show Duryodhana and Karṇa in a favourable light. The omission in the *Dūtavākya*, while describing the

1. In this article I am starting with the following conclusions I have elsewhere proved, viz., that Bhāsa is the author of the thirteen so-called Trivandrum Plays; that he belongs to the pre-Mauryan epoch; and that the *Cārudatta* is the original of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.—cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, Lahore, 1940, Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 6.

2. For a detailed analysis and critical study of these and other Bhāsa plays, cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, Chapters 7 and 8.

3. Cf. THAKKAR VASSANJI MADHAVJI LECTURES for 1939; specially *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, I, pp. 84-85, where appears a summary of the fifth lecture in which the problem has been dealt with.

picture of the denuding of Draupadī, of the miracle of Kṛṣṇa supplying new garments to Draupadī each time one was taken off by Duṣṣāsana, has led Dr. WINTERNITZ to assume that "this miracle of garments is a very late interpolation" in the epic.⁴ The conclusion, however, is not justified as the omission may be deliberate in the drama, in order to save Duryodhana from enjoying the sight of his shame; or again, as observed by Dr. KEITH, the omission may be due "to the difficulty of exhibiting this by the painter's art."⁵

With regard to the *Rāmāyaṇa* plays, the incidents described in which may be treated as historical, it is found that Bhāsa follows *Rāmāyaṇa* in the main. The central idea of the *Pratimā* concerning the statue-houses is entirely the poet's invention; but, on the whole, barring the few places where the poet wants to show the characters on a higher level, there are no material changes from the epic.

The *Bālacarita* describes the childhood of Kṛṣṇa not differing from the similar accounts handed down to us in the epics and the *Purāṇas*.

So, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Kṛṣṇa dramas do not yield us any historical data beyond what is found in their sources.

The *Avimāraka* contains an admixture of supernatural elements with some popular folklore. Some of the incidents described in the *Avimāraka* are found in a different form in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, etc., but no historical material can be extracted from them. The *Cārudatta*, as it stands, contains absolutely no reference to the political revolution which forms the bye-plot of its expanded version, the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. The problem of the historicity of that revolution is beyond the scope of the present article.

Finally we come to the Udayana plays which supply us with an amount of historical data. Udayana Vatsarāja, Pradyota Mahāsena, Darśaka, Yaugandharāyaṇa, Vāsavadattā, Padmāvatī, etc., are the principal *dramatis personae*. The Udayana legend has been the fountain of inspiration to a number of dramatists and references to the legend are found not only in various branches of Sanskrit literature but in Jain and Buddhist works also⁶. Before proceeding with our investigation of historical events, it would facilitate reference and comparison if the version of the Udayana story as found in Bhāsa is given here. Then the points of difference in the various Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain versions will be briefly considered.

4. *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 344 n 2.

5. *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 98.

6. Cf. *Bhāsa—A Study*, pp. 89, 237.

7. Cf. the dramas, *Priyadarśikā*, *Ratnāvalī*, *Tāpasavatsarāja*, *Udayanacarita*, *Viṇāvāsavadatta*, *Unmādavāsavadatta*, etc.; also *Mahābhāṣya*, IV. 3. 87; *Arthaśāstra*, IX. 7; *Vinaya Piṭakam*, 2. 290-2; *Cullavagga*, II. 1. 12-15; *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, 8. 42. 4; 8. 43. 4; etc.; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, 35-127; *Jātakas* Nos. 353, 409, 497; *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, X. 11; *Vipākāsūtra*, I. 5; *Bhagavatisūtra*, III. XII. 2; *Kumāra-pālāpratibodha*, I. 6; for fuller particulars, cf. *Priyadarśikā*, ed. G. K. NARIMAN, Intr, pp. lxii-ixxvi.

Udayana, the young and proud king of Vatsas with his capital at Kauśāmbi, belonged to the celebrated Bharata family and was descended from Śatānika and Sahasrānika. He was handsome and fond of music, and had a clever and faithful minister in Yaugandharāyaṇa. Udayana Vatsarāja turned down the proposal of king Pradyota Mahāsena of Avanti to marry his beautiful daughter Vāsavadattā. So Pradyota had recourse to a stratagem to capture Vatsarāja. Knowing Vatsarāja's weakness he placed a blue-coloured auspicious elephant in the borders of the Vatsa kingdom with armed soldiers concealed in it. The ever watchful Yaugandharāyaṇa was a bit late in getting news of the ruse and before he could warn his master the latter was taken a prisoner to Ujjayinī, the capital of Pradyota. There Vatsarāja was told to give lessons in music to Vāsavadattā. Yaugandharāyaṇa followed his master at Ujjayinī along with Rumanvan and Vasantaka, the trio disguised respectively as a madman, a Buddhist monk and a Brāhmaṇa beggar. They planned some means of escape for Vatsarāja; but on hearing of his love at first sight for Vāsavadattā, they changed their plan so that Vāsavadattā also should accompany their master in his escape. Accordingly the king Udayana Vatsarāja was able to hoodwink the guards and cross the frontiers of the Avanti kingdom with Vāsavadattā. Yaugandharāyaṇa, however, was captured a prisoner of war, but Pradyota honoured him by the present of gold chalice. Pradyota decided to celebrate the marriage of the effigies of the lovers.

After some years, Udayana lost major part of his kingdom to Āruṇi. Yaugandharāyaṇa, the astute politician, was not slow to perceive that in order to recover the lost kingdom it was necessary to contract friendship with Darśaka, king of Magadha. So he planned Udayana's marriage with Padmāvatī, the sister of the Magadha king. For the purpose of effecting that marriage, Yaugandharāyaṇa took Vāsavadattā in confidence and spread the (false) report of her death in fire. Then disguising himself as a *parivrājaka*, he took Vāsavadattā to Rājagṛha in the guise of his sister, a Brahmin *proṣitabhartṛkū*, and kept her with Padmāvatī. Vatsarāja went to Darśaka to seek his aid against Āruṇi. The latter offered his sister in marriage to Udayana and he accepted her. After the marriage, Vatsarāja's army, with the help of the Magadha forces, utterly routed the rebel Āruṇi and Vatsarāja regained his kingdom. Padmāvatī came to know the identity of her new friend, viz., Vāsavadattā, from the portraits sent by Pradyota. Then Yaugandharāyaṇa made his appearance and everything was cleared.

Before proceeding to compare the above version with the other sources, it is material to deal with an important particular in Bhāsa's story of the legend, which according to Diwan Bahadur DHARUVA, has so far escaped the attention of all scholars⁸. There is, however, no basis for DHARUVA's interpretation except the unwarranted emendation of the text proposed by him by which he drops the material words in the passage.⁹ All the sources must, therefore, be deemed to be unanimous with regard to the trap used by Pradyota. A real departure in Bhāsa from all other sources is with respect to Āruṇi who, according to Bhāsa, usurped the Vatsa kingdom¹⁰. There is absolutely no reference to Āruṇi or to any other enemy taking the Vatsa king-

8. *Pradhānani Pratijñā*, 2nd Edn., Inti., pp. 24-25.

9. *Pratijñāyauḡandharāyaṇa*, Trivandrum, 1920, p. 21—तदो कण्ठीरवपरिञ्जाणिमित्तं परिवृत्ता अ वञ्चं । महामतोत्तराउही आहिद्रिदो पञ्चुगदो स किदअहृत्थी । is changed to तत्परिण्णाणिमित्तं पवृत्ता वञ्चं महामात्तराउहीएहि पञ्चुगद । (*Pradhānani Pratijñā*, p. 21 n. 37)

10. *Svapnavāsavadatta*, Trivandrum, 1924, pp. 116-118,

dom in any other version of the Udayana legend. There is, further, nothing in the other versions as to Yaugandharāyaṇa being left behind to fight with the Avanti army as also about his being captured and subsequently released after honouring him¹¹.

The *Kathāsarisāgara* of Somadeva which proclaims itself to be an exact copy of the *Bṛhatkathā* by Guṇādhyā,¹² presents some changes from Bhāsa in addition to those noted above. The reason for entering into matrimonial alliance with the Magadhas is said to be for increasing the Vatsa kingdom ; Vatsarāja is said to be in the know of Yaugandharāyaṇa's plot through Nārada's prophecy ; Vatsarāja goes to Magadha, according to the *Kathāsarisāgara*, expressly for marrying with Padmāvatī, who is stated to be the daughter of the Magadha king, who is wrongly called Pradyota.¹³

In the Buddhist versions, Udayana is represented as teaching the secret of taming elephants to Vāsavadattā and not music as is told in the Sanskrit and Jain versions. In the Buddhist and Jain records, again, the teacher (Udayana) and the pupil (Vāsavadattā) are separated by a curtain, and Udayana is passed off as a leper and Vāsavadattā as a hunch-back or blind by one eye. Once the secret is out when they see each other, love springs between them which ends in their marriage through Yaugandharāyaṇa's tactics.

It will thus be seen that there is unanimity in all the sources with regard to the main story. Dr. GUNÉ states that the points of difference in the Jain story with that as given by Bhāsa are due to Bhāsa's changing the story to suit the stage. He concludes that the *Kathāsarisāgara*, the Jain version and Bhāsa had independent sources.¹⁴ In view of the date we have assigned to Bhāsa we hold that Bhāsa's story represents the true state of affairs as he is the oldest of all the sources.

That Udayana and Pradyota were contemporaries is accepted by all versions of the story. Bhāsa, Buddhist and Jain sources, *Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha* and the *Purāṇas* represent Pradyota as the king of Avanti, whereas the *Kathāsarisāgara* and certain corrupt passages in the *Purāṇas* style him as the king of Magadha naming Mahāsena as the king of Avanti.¹⁵ This has led to a difference of opinion among scholars about the date and country of Pradyota ; some scholars hold that Pradyota was the king of Magadha and preceded Buddha by some centuries thus making him generations earlier than Udayana who is admitted as the contemporary of Buddha.¹⁶ The basis for

11. Cf. *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, IV. 6 ; pp. 111-126.

12. Cf. I. 10 : यया मूलं तथैवैतन्नमनागप्यतिक्रमः ।

13. *Kathāsarisāgara*, Taraṅgas 11-17 ; cf. 15. 19 : ' प्रद्योतो मगधेश्वरः '

14. *Annals of the Bhand. O. R. Inst.*, II, pp. 13-15.

15. Cf. RAY CHAUDHURY, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Edn. p. 97 n 3 ; also, J. Sen. *Ind. Hist. Qly*, 1930, pp. 679, 691.

16. BHIDE, *The Pradyota Dynasty of the Purāṇas*, *Journal of the Behar & Orissa Res. Soc.*, 1921, pp. 106-112 ; KETKAR, *Prācīna Mahārāṣṭra*, Poona, 1935, pp. 140-146 ; GANAPATI ŚASTRI, *Bhāsa's Works : A Critical Study*, p. 123.

the inclusion of Pradyota's name in the Magadha records seems to be, as suggested by Prof. RAPSON, that Pradyota of Avanti held suzerainty over Magadha also.¹⁷ In view of the summing up of the problem by Prof. A. GHOSH who has refuted the contrary views,¹⁸ as also of the practical unanimity in all the sources, we do not think it necessary to pursue the topic here, and accept the identity of Pradyota and Mahāsena and take Avanti as the province over which Pradyota Mahāsena ruled.

The next important question raised by Bhāsa is about the historicity of king Darśaka, whom he mentions as the king of Magadha, and as the contemporary of Udayana and Pradyota. The problem is complicated by absence of any reference to a king of that name in the Magadha lists as given by Buddhist and Jain writers. GEIGER, and following him Dr. RAY CHAUDHURY and others doubt the existence of king Darśaka though he appears as the successor of Ajātaśatru in the *Purāṇas* and other Sanskrit works and in Bhāsa.¹⁹ Dr. Vincent SMITH, however, rightly refuses to believe the "indubitable authority" of the *Mahāvamśa* which according to him is "a muddled account," and includes Darśaka as the king of Magadha between Ajātaśatru and Udāyi.²⁰ Prof. RAPSON also holds the Buddhist genealogy preserved in the *Mahāvamśa* to be "not above suspicion," but he does not give any verdict as to the historicity of Darśaka.²¹ Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR, who prefers to rely on the *Mahāvamśa* identifies Darśaka with Nāgadāsaka who is mentioned as the last king in the *Mahāvamśa*;²² but, apart from conflicting with historical evidence, phonetic law, according to Dr. PRADHAN, seems to be against changing Darśaka to Nāgadāsaka.²³ And again, omission of the name of Nāgadāsaka from the list as given in the *Divyāvadāna* shows that even the Buddhist sources are not unanimous about the historical reality of Nāgadāsaka.²⁴ Dr. JAYASWAL has accepted the historicity of king Darśaka of Magadha; but curiously enough, there is no reference to Darśaka even by way of footnote in his edition of *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, which does not mention Darśaka.²⁵ Perhaps it may be, as suggested by Dr. PRADHAN, that Darśaka was one of the sons of Ajātaśatru and was taking part in administrative affairs during his father's lifetime and that Ajātaśatru was immediately

17. *Cambridge History of India*. Vol. I, Ancient India, p. 311. According to Prof. RAPSON, "That the Pradyota of the *Purāṇas* and the Pradyota of Ujjain were one and the same person does not admit of question".—*op. cit.*, p. 311.

18. *Some Problems about the Pradyotas of Avanti*, *Journal of Indian History*, XI, pp. 288-297.

19. *Mahāvamśa*, Trans, 1912, pp. xlix, xlv; RAY CHAUDHURY, *op. cit.*, p. 175; BHANDARKAR, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1919, pp. 59, 69, 71.

20. *Early History of India*, 4th Edn, p. 39 n 1; also, pp. 48, 51; also, *Oxford History of India*, 1922, pp. 47, 70.

21. *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 312.

22. *Carmichael Lectures*, pp. 71, 80.

23. *Chronology of Ancient India*, Calcutta University Press, pp. 212-213.

24. Cf. RAY CHAUDHURY, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

25. Cf. *Journ. Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1913, pp. 267-269; *Imperial History of India*, Lahore, 1934, pp. 10, 24 (st. 324).

succeeded by Udāyin. The period of 52 years assigned to Ajātaśatru in the *Mahāvamsa*, according to Dr. PRADHAN, includes 24 years during which Darśaka was at the helm of state affairs.²⁶ Thus Brahmanic tradition has been reconciled by Dr. PRADHAN with that as found in the *Mahāvamsa*. Bhāsa's testimony, therefore, coupled with the statements in the Puranic and other works proves the historicity of Darśaka.

Yet another point raised by Bhāsa is about Āruṇi, the rebel king who drove Udayana Vatsarāja out of his kingdom. As already stated, no reference is found to this Āruṇi in any old work. According to Bhāsa, Āruṇi appears to have been ruling to the north of the Ganges.²⁷ On account of a statement in the *Ratnāvalī* that a king of Kosala was Udayana's enemy, Dr. BHANDARKAR inclines to take Āruṇi as a king of Kosala.²⁸ Mr. SOMAN suggests that he may have been a king of Persia.²⁹ In the present state of our knowledge, however, it is difficult to state anything about Āruṇi.

There are some stray references in the works of Bhāsa, e.g., to Brahmadatta of Kāmpilya, or to the ruling families of the period, etc.,³⁰ but they do not supply us with historical data. As regards big towns of the period, we know from Bhāsa that Rājagṛha was the capital of Magadha³¹ and that Pāṭaliputra was then but a small town.³² Confirmation for these statements may be found in the facts that it was Bimbisāra, a predecessor of Darśaka who built Rājagṛha and made it the capital of Magadha; and Pāṭaliputra was fortified by Ajātaśatru, but the capital was transferred there in the reign of his grandson Udāyin, i.e., after Darśaka's time.³³

Thus, Bhāsa supplies us with historical data of the Buddhist period, most of which, as we have seen, are corroborated by other independent sources.

26. *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 212, 228, 246.

27. Cf. *Svapnavāsavadatta*, Trivandrum, 1924, pp. 116-118, V. 12.

28. *Carmichael Lectures*, p. 62.

29. *Bhāsa's Works*, Marathi Trans, Intr, pp. 223-225.

30. *Svapnavāsavadatta*, pp. 104-105; *Pratijñāyauḡandharāyaṇa*, II. 8; *Avimāraka*, pp. 11-12.

31. Cf. *Svapnavāsavadatta*, p. 14.

32. Cf. *Cārudatta*, p. 51.

33. SMITH, *Early Hist. Ind.*, 4th Ed., pp. 32, 38-39.

THE NINTH MAṆḌALA OF THE ṚGVEDA*

By

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I

Students of the Vedas know that the Ninth *Maṇḍala* ('Book') of the Ṛgveda is unique in the sense that all its hymns are addressed to one single deity, *Soma* by name. In the whole of the Ṛgveda excepting the Ninth *Maṇḍala*, we come across only 4 hymns (namely : 1, 91 ; VIII, 48 ; 79 ; and X, 25) which are exclusively addressed to Soma ; there are, besides, a few other hymns (*viz.* I, 187 ; VIII, 72 ; and X, 144) which can be taken as partly addressed to Soma. These hymns of the Books other than the Ninth *Maṇḍala* describe mostly the physical and magical effect of Soma on his¹ drinker. Generally speaking, the sacrificial priests take it for granted that the Soma juice is ready for drink when Indra or some other deity is invited to the Soma-sacrifice ; only occasionally do they make reference to the preparation of Soma.

We find, however, a fair number of hymns in the Ṛgveda which have as their theme the ceremonious Soma-preparation. They are named in RV. IX, 67, 31-32 *pāvamānīḥ* (adj. to *īcah*), that is to say, they are addressed to *Sóma-pāvamāna-*, to the self-purifying, self-refining Soma. The whole ritualistic procedure concerning Soma-preparation in the Ṛgvedic times is comprised within these hymns. Inasmuch as these *pāvamānīḥ* (hymns) assume a special place as against all other hymns, they are grouped in a special Book, namely : the Ninth *Maṇḍala*, of the Ṛgveda. In view of this special grouping, the Ninth *Maṇḍala* may be said to be a supplementary volume and second addendum to the collections of the individual priestly families of the first eight Books.

II

The main idea underlying all these *Pavamāna*-hymns is that the laborious and skilful work of the Soma-priest, the *Adhvaryu*, proceeds much better

* The present essay was prepared by me about 12 years back at the instance of the late Professor Karl F. GELDNER under whom I was then studying at Marburg. He had rendered it into German with a view to publishing it as introduction to his translation of the Ninth *Maṇḍala*. As, however, that has not as yet seen the light of the day, I am publishing the original essay, gratefully recalling that it had the benefit of GELDNER's scholarly revision.—The essay will be completed in the next part of this JOURNAL.

1. *Soma-* is masc. ; *haoma-*, the exact Avestan equivalent of Soma, is also masc. Skt. √ *su-* Avestan √ *hu-* = "to press" ; the word *Soma-*, therefore, literally means "the pressed juice."

“when it is accompanied by good speech.” Between the Soma-preparation and the good speech there exists a reciprocal spiritual effect ; see, for example :

tām id vārdhantu no gīro vatsām sanīśīśvarīr iva |
yā indrasya hṛdamsānīḥ || IX, 61, 14.

“May our speeches increase him—just as the cows that have one common youngling increase their calf,—who has won the heart of Indra !” Then in the same hymn in stanza 23c it is begged of Soma : *punāno vārdha no gīrah* “Increase our speeches that clarify thee !”² The stimulating words of the poet are to Soma a treat to enjoy (IX, 71, 3) ; they strengthen him (IX, 17, 4 ; I, 91, 11), make him eloquent (IX, 97, 32d) and further the flow and the process of purification and filtering of the Soma-juice (IX, 8, 4b ; 37, 6 ; 64, 10, 16 ; 65, 16 ; 71, 6 ; 72, 1c ; 96, 15 ; 106, 11 ; 113, 5d ; I, 187, 11). They give him also the clear, beautiful form (IX, 2, 7 ; 14, 2 ; 15, 8 ; 17, 7 ; 26, 1 ; 29, 2 ; 40, 1 ; 43, 2-3 ; 63, 20 ; 68, 7 ; 86, 24d ; 97, 22ab ; 105, 2 ; AV. IV, 24, 4 : *śukrāḥ pāvate brāhmaśumbhitāḥ*). Nor does Soma lack in reciprocity. He, on his part, stimulates thought and inspires eloquence of the R̥gvedic poet, strengthens and enlightens him, and purifies his words so that the latter may give the former a good shape (IX, 95, 1-5 ; 21, 7 ; 2, 7ab ; 9, 8 ; 20, 7 ; 21, 2 ; 40, 5 ; 47, 4 ; 61, 23 ; 64, 26 ; 69, 2 ; 72, 5 ; 90, 6 ; 107, 18 ; 108, 10 ; I, 46, 5 ; and X, 25, 1). Soma is called the father, the generator, or the lord of thoughts (*pitā* in IX, 76, 4 ; *janitā* in 96, 5 ; *pātiḥ* in 11, 8 ; 75, 2 ; 99, 6), the arouser of thoughts (IX, 86, 1 ; 88, 3), the finder of thoughts (IX, 44, 6 ; Śāṅkh. Śr. S. VIII, 8, 6), the guide of thoughts (IX, 103, 4), the tongue of truth (*ṛtāsya jīhvā* in IX, 75, 2), and the path-finder of the poets (*padavīḥ kavīnām* in IX, 96, 6, 18). Soma reveals the divine mysteries (IX, 95, 2 ; IV, 58, 2 ; X, 123, 4) ; with the eye of the sun he sees the secret place of heaven (IX, 10, 9).

The cult of Soma and the art of composing hymns have grown closely together. The Soma-sacrifice was the best fostering soil for the R̥gvedic poet. The Aryan character of the Soma-cult is again and again emphasized (IX, 63, 5, 14 ; 73, 5d ; 92, 5d).

III

The Soma-juice was prepared from an indigenous plant that grew in Iran and in North-western India. It is said in the R̥gveda that the plant grows in mountains (IX, 82, 3 ; 18, 1 ; 46, 1 ; 62, 4 ; V, 85, 2), or in the vicinity of the mountains and in the domain of rivers (*upahvarē girīnām saṅgathē ca nadīnām*...in VIII, 6, 28). Soma is spoken of as king of *ōśadhi* or *vīrūdh* (X, 97, 18, 19 ; IX, 114, 2 ; AV. VI, 15, 3 ; V, 24, 7) and is a kind of creeper—something between *atasā* and *vāna* (X, 89, 5c), that is, either a shrub or

2. See also IX, 72, 1c : *udvīcam irāyati hinvāte matī*.... IX, 97, 32d : ... *hinvāno vācam matībhiḥ kavīnām*.

a bush. And yet we find him once being referred to as a tree (*vrkṣá* in X, 94, 3). The plant is characterized to be reddish (VII, 98, 1; X, 94, 3; 144, 5). Perhaps, however, this refers to the colour of the sap. The unmixed juice is sharp or pungent in taste (III, 48, 3; VIII, 72, 2; *Ind. St.* X, 370) and by colour either gold-yellow (*hári*, Av. *zairi*), brown (*babhrú*), yellow-brown (*háriṃ babhrúm* in IX, 98, 7), red (*aruṇá* in IX, 11 4; 45, 3; 78, 4; *śóna* in IX, 97, 13; *aruṣá* in IX, 25, 5; etc.), yellowish red (*háriṃ aruṣám* in IX, 89, 3; 111, 1), or yellowish (*gaurá* in X, 100, 2)³. Soma becomes, however, white when mixed with milk (IX, 74, 7-8), or reddish (IX, 61, 21). His different colours (*vísṃvā rūpāṇi*) are often referred to, for example, in IX, 25, 4; VI, 41, 3. Stress is laid upon his fragrance in IX, 97, 19; 107, 2. According to Sat. Br. III, 4, 3, 13 the name of the Soma-plant was *uśānā* (cf. RV. X, 30, 9c). As to the later substitutes⁴ of Soma we already get a hint in RV. X, 89, 5.⁵

The Soma-plant could only be a kind of Ephedra⁶. This is called "Hum" till today in and round about Afghanistan⁷. The plant is a stiff bush, three feet high, with thick, erect, articulate branches devoid of leaves. It grows on stony, barren soil. Its fruit is red and pulpy and taken by children. The branches are used for preparing a yellow colour and pulverized for use as a masticatory substance. The Afridi tribes squash the branches and soak them in cold water. The extract thus obtained serves as medicine against fever. This plant is met with in the whole of Turkestan, in North- and Middle-Iran, and in the North-Western Himalayas. It grows then in a wide semi-circle around the areas in which we may seek the home of the Ṛgveda⁷.

According to Ṛgveda, the plant gives out a whitish juice called "white milk of cow" (IX, 91, 3), also "milk of the branches" (IX, 107, 12).

3. These colour-words are also used to denote the respective colours of horses or steers in the Ṛgveda.

4. Cf. ROTH in ZDMG. Vol. XXXV, p. 688.

5. Soma-substitutes: *pratimānāni* in X, 89, 5d. *Sāyana*: *pratimānabhūtāni*. . . . *pratimādhīyamānāni*. Usually the Soma-substitutes in post-Ṛgvedic literature are called *pratiśeṣāḥ* (Ait. Br. VII. 32, 4); see also Sat. Br. IV, 5, 10, 2f.

6. According to GELDNER (orally): "perhaps Ephedra intermedia, or pachyclada."

7. AITCHISON, *Notes on Products of Western Afghanistan and North Eastern Persia*, p. 64; and MODI, *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees* (1922), p. 303.

7^a. About three years after the above lines were written, a highly instructive article, "on the Ephedra, the Hūm Plant, and the Soma", by Sir Aurel STEIN appeared in BSOS. Vol. VI (1930-32), pp. 501-517. Therein (p. 513) he says: "If our surmise is right as to the wild rhubarb, in one or another of its closely allied species, having been the plant from which the Soma of early Vedic times and the Haoma sung in the Yasna was obtained, it will help to confirm the belief that the border territories...where nowadays the North-west Frontier of India meets Afghānistān, were at an early period held by tribes who called themselves Āryas, and spoke Vedic Sanskrit."

IV

The effect of the Soma-draught is expressed both in the Vedas and in the Avesta by $\sqrt{mad-}$. Strictly speaking, the idea underlying $\sqrt{mad-}$ in connection with the Soma-drink is neither utter intoxication nor pure inspiration. Drunkenness on account of Soma-drinking is simply out of question; more so any orgiastic Soma-cult. For such crude indulgence, the whole sacrificial ceremony of the Aryans of India and Iran was too solemn and dignified⁸. It is then a sort of higher rejoicing, higher exhilaration that Soma calls forth and is implied by the use of $\sqrt{mad-}$ ⁹. To support this statement we have the authority of Yasna X, 8 wherein the exhilaration caused by Soma is contrasted with the intoxication resulting from all other drinks which make one involved in bloody affairs¹⁰. So also in RV. VIII, 2, 12 those drinking Soma are differentiated from those intoxicated with other alcoholic spirits (*durmādāsah*). The effect of the Soma-drink, physical as well as spiritual, is most minutely perceived. Soma is heartily drunk and is most pleasing to the heart (I, 179, 5; VIII, 48, 4; 79, 7; X, 32, 9). The heart sticks to the Soma that is drunk (IX, 70, 9). He is the sweetest and most tasteful among all drinks. He is *vayaskṛt*, *vayodhā*—the giver of strength, both physical and spiritual. It is because of this drink that the gods—prominently Indra—performed their mighty deeds. He invigorates the sinking spirit of the warrior (X, 83, 7). In men he stimulates strength (I, 91, 7; IX, 66, 30; X, 25, 7), increases their generative power, brings them children and cures all their ills (IX, 60, 4; VIII, 79, 2; 72, 17; IX, 85, 1; X, 25, 11). He lengthens the life of both gods and men (IX, 106, 8; 108, 3; 110, 4; III, 62, 15; VIII, 79, 6; X, 144, 5-6). Soma is in fact the *amṛta*—the elixir of life (IX, 70, 2; 74, 4). Above all, however, his effect upon the inner being of the R̥gvedic poet is most conspicuous: the crystalline clearness of the Soma-sap has, so to say, its own reflection on the thoughts of the poet. Soma illuminates, sharpens and expands the eye of the seer directed towards the deity (I, 91, 1). He kindles and fulfils the holy words and thoughts (I, 87, 5; IX, 21, 7; 25, 5; 36, 3; 72, 5; 95, 1; X, 25, 4). He purifies the inner being of the poet (IX, 97, 37; 73, 8; 67, 22-27) and protects it against evil influences (X, 16, 6d; IX, 85, 1; AV. VI, 96, 3). In short, Soma affords the R̥ṣi the divine insight that is very necessary for the sacrifice (IX, 4, 3; X, 25, 1; I, 91 5c), and carries him high into those regions where he feels himself as elevated as gods (VIII, 48, 3; IX, 107, 20). Soma is addressed as a path-finder of the poet (IX, 96, 6. 18), as one who helps him to become a R̥ṣi (IX, 96, 18). Because of his

8. I must however mention that only in stray R̥gvedic hymns—such as I, 82 or X, 119—does one meet with a humorous and impertinent mood.

9. Indeed Soma's effect on life and spirits could under circumstances be a bit too strong; in this sense is one to understand VIII, 79, 7. 8. Similarly also Yasna X, 14.

10. Yasna X, 8: "All other intoxicating drinks are surely accompanied by *Aēšma* who swings bloody wood, but he, the exhilarating drink of *Haoma*, is accompanied by *Aša* of cheerful mood..."

ecstatic action on gods and men, and because of the exercise of his irresistibly attractive power on the gods, Soma is Indra's favourite food (VII, 98, 2), the real drink of the deities (IX, 51, 3 ; 78, 4 ; 109, 15), the one which lends them immortality (IX, 106, 8), which calls them from heaven (IX, 80, 1) and which is their best host (IX, 25, 3, etc.). Being exhilarated by the Soma-drink, the R̥gvedic poet composes devotional prayer (I, 80, 1). Being the sacred sacrificial drink, Soma is the central point of the solemn offering (IX, 74, 4 ; VIII, 48, 1), nay, the very soul of the sacrifice (*ātmā yajñāsya* in IX, 2, 10 ; 6, 8).

In the later ritual, the Soma-sacrifice is the most valuable and expensive next only to the Aśvamedha and the Rājasūya. In the R̥gveda, on the other hand, the Soma-sacrifice eclipses all other sacrifices in point of popularity : it is *haviṛ haviṣṣu* (IX, 7, 2), *uttamām haviḥ* (IX, 107, 1 ; AV. VI, 15, 3), the light and acme of the sacrifice (*vyōtir yajñāsya* in IX, 86, 10). Hence the overwhelming mass of the Soma-pavamāna-hymns.

V

Soma was never a profane drink. That, however, did not mean that the whole ritualistic ceremony must always have preceded whenever and wherever he was drunk. There are certain indications in the R̥gveda to prove the contrary. For example, in I, 25 it is mentioned that Soma was taken as a magical, healing drink with whose help a sick person was exorcised. Again, in X, 57, 6 it is said that the necromancer makes use of Soma in his art. We learn from I, 28 that there was also a quick and simple Soma-preparation with the usual household utensils.¹¹

It must be maintained, nevertheless, that the great Soma-sacrifice was after all the most in vogue. And the ceremonial Soma-preparation was a prelude to the same. To this ceremonial preparation are dedicated the many Pavamāna-hymns. Therein we should not expect any coherent description of either the whole ritual or the pressing of Soma ; the hymns are meant only to accompany the ceremony. They pick up from the ritualistic process only those points which appear to their authors well-adapted for their thoughts and metaphorical play. The details of the actual course of the ceremony are not forthwith clear from the hymns.

Every attempt to get a possibly complete picture of the R̥gvedic Soma-preparation from the allusions in the hymns must, therefore, first take the help of the later ritual. One thing, however, appears to be certain, namely, that the R̥gvedic Soma-sacrifice required less materials and was much simpler in detail than the later Agniṣṭoma. The great formality of the later Agniṣṭoma, regulated down to the minutest particulars (of course with isolated differences between the schools), was well far off, so also a very strict succession of the

11. GELDNER remarked here on my manuscript that I, 179 and X, 83 should also be cited as additional proof. How far this is required I am not yet clear.

several stages of the sacramental pressing of Soma. Many particulars may have been left to the discretion of the then Soma-priest, or the reciters of the hymns did not feel constrained to observe the strict succession of the various stages.

According to Ait. Br. VII, 32, 4 the following implements and utensils were requisite for the sacramental Soma-preparation and -offering: The pressing leather (*adhiṣṣvaṇaṁ carma*),¹² the two pressing-planks (*adhiṣavane phalake*), the *dronakalaśa*-tub, the filter cloth (*daśāpavitra*), the pressing stones (*adri*), the two tubs or vessels (*pūtabhṛt* for the pure Soma, and *ādhavanīya* for the purpose of stirring), a dish or vessel (*sthālī*), the drawing cup (*udañcana*) and the drinking cup or goblet (*camasa*).

The pressing of Soma in the later Agniṣṭoma¹³ is divided into the earlier or minor pressing and the major pressing (*mahābhiṣava*). After the holes (*uparava*) with a view to obtaining resonance for the pressing-stones, have been dug to the accompaniment of hymn-recitation and are tightly covered with the two pressing-planks (Āp. Śr. S. XI, 13, 4-7), a red cow-hide is, on the morning of the actual day of the sacrifice, spread over the planks and thereon are placed the pressing stones—the broadest in the middle—and on the latter the Soma-plants unloaded from the carriage (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 2, 15; 3. 13). During the morning litany, the Soma-utensils are collected and the Adhvaryu fetches water, from the nearest source, requisite for the Soma (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 5, 5). Then the Soma-stalks sufficient for one *graha* are placed on the broadest stone (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 9, 8), soaked with water from the goblet of the Hotṛ (Kāty. IX, 4, 12) and thrashed by the Adhvaryu alone with the stone in three rounds of 8, 11 and 12 strokes (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 10, 4-9). During this thrashing, the Adhvaryu must always carry a golden ring on his finger (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 7, 12). Before every round the stalks are soaked, and after every round the squeezed-out stalks are sprinkled with water from the goblet of the Hotṛ and supplemented (SBE, Vol. XXVI, p. 244; Āp. Śr. S. XII, 10, 10-11). The pressed-out sap is filled with a hollow hand into a goblet without filtration (TS. VI, 4, 5, 3).¹⁴ This is the first *graha* (the *upāṁśugraha* to which perhaps ṚV. IV, 58, 1 already alludes).

The further pressing, i.e., "the major pressing" is superintended by the Adhvaryu together with his colleagues (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 12, 1). All the Soma-stalks meant for the morning sacrifice are placed on the stone, soaked with

12. This or the nether pressing plank is meant by *adhiṣavāna* in AV. V, 20, 10.

13. I do not propose to summarize here the description of the whole Agniṣṭoma, but to give the brief outline of the sacramental Soma-preparation belonging to the same. In certain details there will be found many similarities between this and the modern Haoma-ritual of the Parsees. For a trustworthy account of the latter, see J. J. MODI, *The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, (Bombay 1922), pp. 299-329.

14. Instead of a strainer, it is poured over two stalks which symbolically represent the strainer (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 10, 5-6).

water, and thrashed thrice : every time under fresh soaking with water (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 12, 3-4). The squeezed-out stalks (*ṛjīśā*) are placed in Hotṛ's goblet filled with water, then shaken energetically (*ā-dhū*, Kāty. IX, 5, 6) in the water of the *ādhavanīya*-tub and then once again squeezed out. The pressed-out sap is filled in a jug by the Adhvaryu with the hollow of both his hands put together (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 12, 5). From this jug the Unnetṛ pours it in the *ādhavanīya*-tub, in which previously the water of *maitrā-varuṇa*-goblet along with one third of the *vasatīvārī*-water was poured (Kāty. IX, 3, 21). "The major pressing" takes place in three rounds. The squeezed-out stalks are once more pressed out and their sap poured in the *ādhavanīya*. The pressing stones are again placed in their places and thereon the squeezed-out stalks (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 12, 11). Then they hold the *dronakalaśa*, put it on the stones and spread the strainer thereon (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 12, 12). The Unnetṛ pours with the jug the water-mixed sap from the *ādhavanīya* into the Hotṛ-goblet and from this it is poured in an unbroken spilling on the strainer (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 13, 1-3). The next *grahas* from the *antaryāma* upto *dhruva* are filled out of this spilling, whilst they are held directly under the edge of the strainer (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 13, 5); the further *grahas* are filled, however, from the clear (*śukra*) sap of the *dronakalaśa* itself with the *pariplavāṇ*-jugs (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 18, 11). When the half of the *dronakalaśa* is fully filled in (Kāty. IX, 6, 26), the unbroken spilling is stopped (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 16, 9). The strainer is taken out and spread over the *pūtabhṛt*-vessel. The Soma remaining in the *ādhavanīya* is once more mixed with water and poured through the strainer into the *pūtabhṛt* (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 16, 11). From this or from both the vessels (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 21, 15) the goblets of the officiating priests are filled in (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 21, 16).

The Soma-sacrifice divides itself into three pressings (*savana*). The mid-day pressing passes off quite like the major pressing of the morning (Āp. Śr. S. XIII, 1, 1-2). The evening pressing takes place without any fresh Soma, from the *ṛjīśa* stalks of the Soma squeezed out at the first *savana* and from the stalks kept apart at the morning for the evening pressing (Āp. Śr. S. XIII, 10, 5), with practically very little water being added thereto (Kāty. X, 3, 12). The sap is again collected in the *ādhavanīya*, and then filled in the *pūtabhṛt* through a filter, but no more in the *dronakalaśa* (Āp. Śr. S. XIII, 10, 10). Here it is mixed with twirled curdled milk (*āśir*) so that the sap may become more nutritious, more *śukra*-like (TS. VI, 1, 6, 5; Āp. Śr. S. XIII, 10, 10).

VI

According to their deities the Soma-draughts divide themselves in the following manner : At the morning-libation, Indra-Vāyu, Mitra-Varuṇa, the Aśvins, Savitṛ, the Ṛtavaḥ (see RV. I, 15), Indra-Agni, the Viśve Devāḥ get, each of them, one draught. At the mid-day pressing these are partly repeated—particularly the pairs of the deities are excepted—, one draught

being added thereto for Indra in company with the Maruts, for the "great Indra"; at the evening libation still one for the Ādityas, for Savitr, for Agni in company with wives of gods and with Hāriyोजना (RV. I, 82, 4). In-between there come still other draughts such as *śukrā-* and *manthín-*draught mentioned in a *dvandva* compound in RV. IX, 46, 4.

The priests entitled to the Soma-drink (the so-called *camasin*), and the sacrificers enjoy the remaining Soma from their goblets, the Hotṛ being the first to drink (Āp. Śr. S. XII, 25, 19; cf. RV. I, 25, 17). The same process is repeated at the mid-day (Kāty. X, 2, 4 and comm.) and evening offerings.

At the beginning of the mid-day offering there enters a new priest, the *grāvastut* ('praiser of the pressing-stones') with a turban on and recites, unasked, the *grāvastotriyāḥ* (Āp. Śr. S. XIII, 1, 6; cf. Śāṅkh. Śr. S. VII, 15; RV. X, 76; SBE. Vol. XXVI, p. 332) which he multiplies during the filling of the ladles, if necessary, with the help of the *Pāvamānīḥ* of the Ninth Maṇḍala (Āś. Śr. S. V, 12, 11; Śāṅkh. Śr. S. VII, 15, 15). Therein we may see an echo of their original prescription. The use of the Soma-Pavamāna-hymns in the ancient time was, however, not confined to the mid-day offering. Undoubtedly do they allude also to other *savanas*, e.g., to the morning libation in IX, 71, 7; 86, 42; 98, 11a; 99, 2, etc.

In the later ritual the sacramental Soma-preparation and -offering follow a fixed scheme. If the prescription of the preparation was literally fulfilled, then the Soma must be good and must bring forth the desired effect. Not so in the R̥gveda: here the preparation of the Soma was looked upon as a special art. The Soma fulfilled his purpose through the successful mixture¹⁵ and nice taste just as the accompanying hymn served its purpose through beautiful composition and recitation. In the later ritual the accompanying words were merely a mechanical formality. In this respect there exists a deep gulf between the religious view-point of the R̥gveda and that of the later ritual.

[To be completed.]

15. Cf. particularly RV. VIII. 2, 5 wherein *dūrāśiḥ* "ill-mixed (Soma)" is mentioned.

DĪNABANDHU ANDREWS*

Dīnabandhu ANDREWS passed away on April 5, 1940. It is a terrible blow to those who had the privilege of his personal friendship. The whole of India mourns his death, for India was the country of Mr. ANDREWS' adoption, his second home. Charlie ANDREWS was a true Dinabandhu, a title India affectionately bestowed upon him and which he was proud of. He was the friend of the poor, the lowliest and the lost. To alleviate their sufferings and miseries and to vindicate wrongs and social injustices, he dedicated himself whole-heartedly. Wherever there was a flood, a famine, a scourge of a malignant disease or an earthquake, Charlie ANDREWS was there, a noble personality with his sweet and gentle smile, loving and kindly eyes. He wandered in the far-off corners of the world where Indians have settled : Kenya, British Guiana, Fiji, South Africa, Tanganyika and other colonies. To Indians overseas he brought the message of hope and relief, of light and love. No man, except Mahātmā GANDHI, has rendered nobler services to them. No man could have served them so well. He led a full life of heroic sacrifices and countless deeds of love to those whom he sought to serve.

Dīnabandhu ANDREWS was "a man magnificent in mind," a veritable *Vaiṣṇavajana* : consideration of caste, creed, colour, nationality, religion, social differences and class barriers did not exist in his mind. The whole humanity was one indivisible unit, and to restore unity in the soul of the distracted world, torn asunder by rival interests, hatred and violence, was his self-chosen task. To live for the suffering mankind and to work for its high destiny was to him to live in the great Task-Master's eye. He was the very embodiment of love and suffering—the central doctrine of Christianity. His life represented something that is noblest in Christianity. The METROPOLITAN of India, while paying a tribute to him, said : "I, for one, have seen in him one who seemed to me to reveal, as very few do, the character of the Master whom he sought to serve". ANDREWS believed that the only real progress is progress in Charity. To this end he gave himself wholly and held back nothing. Essentially a righteous man to whom every action and thought was an offering to God : a person whose discords of personal claims and counter-claims were resolved and whose soul achieved inner integration. It

* Worthier pens than ours have already paid fitting tributes to the memory of the *Dinabandhu*. This joint tribute of homage by the two members of our Editorial Board has been inspired by the fact that both of them had—the one at Cambridge, the other at Santiniketan—enjoyed the privilege of a personal friendship with Mr. ANDREWS and known him as a pure and ardent lover not only of India of today and tomorrow but also of her sacred cultural heritage.—ED.

seems the guiding principles of his life were *Karuṇā* (Mercy) and *Maitri* (Friendship), *Anāsakti* (Non-attachment) and *Tyāga* (Sacrifice). Every moment of his life was spent in that single-minded devotion to truth—in the service of mankind. The noble words of the dying SOCRATES were : “Crito, we owe a cock to Aesulapins, don’t forget to pay the debt.” Of ANDREWS : “...While I had been lying in the hospital I trust that my prayers and hopes have not been merely concerning my own suffering which are of the smallest importance today in the light of the supreme suffering of the whole human race. I have prayed every moment that God’s Kingdom may come and His will may be done on earth as it is always being done in Heaven”.

ANDREWS was deeply moved by ‘man’s inhumanity to man’. He belonged to no political party nor any vested interests. Humanity’s true Servant he was, and as such responded to the call, whatever quarter it came from. He tried to achieve the reality of human brotherhood. He firmly believed that no civilisation would endure for long without peace and justice. In fact these were the nursing forces of the great civilisations of the past. Co-operation, therefore, is essential between the nations of the world. He passionately believed in the world fellowship of culture, and worked for the closer understanding and trust between East and West. India, to him, was the meeting ground of East and West. The hope of harmony and collaboration between East and West could be realized primarily in India. One of the last things that he wrote was an article on Mr. MASANI’S biography of DADABHOY NAOROJI, which appeared in the *Modern Review*, March 1940. He said : “The issues which were faced by Dadabhai still affect East and West alike, and they are bound up with the future of the whole human race. If Asia and Europe can truly find a common meeting place in India, then the organic unity of mankind in the near future may not after all be an empty dream. But if, on the other hand, in spite of a hundred years or more of close contact, these ties become hopelessly broken, then a blow would be dealt to human brotherhood from which our civilisation could not lightly recover.”

India is indeed very poor by his death, but humanity, poorer. His death is an irreparable loss to the world, at any rate to the peace-loving forces of the world.

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It is but natural that we should specially refer here to his intimate connection with Santiniketan. He has often described the story of this *Āśrama*, the story which he declared to be “full of romance and beauty”. Officially Mr. ANDREWS was the *Uṇācārya* of Visva-Bharati—a position equal to the Vice-Chancellor of a university—and he was often called upon supervising the various departments of that institution during the absence of its Founder-President, the Poet RABINDRANATH TAGORE. But bearing official responsi-

bilities was, perhaps, the least part of his supremely noble services to Santiniketan. To the members of that *Āśrama*, the fact that he rejoiced in sharing the common life, radiating it ever with his transparent sincerity and overflowing love was in itself a rare experience of creative fellowship and friendship. To many of them he was a friend in need ; to all of them, a friend indeed. Indeed, Mr. ANDREWS lived the life of those whom he has himself described in the last chapter of his *What I Owe to Christ* : “ . . . who in Christ’s name, and out of pure love for Him alone, have silently endured the loss of all things, gladly offering life itself in His service. These have been the salt of the earth in every fresh generation, living humbly, praying silently, enduring manfully and womanly, lifting the world’s burden of pain and redeeming mankind in Christ.”

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We give below a life-sketch of Mr. ANDREWS :—

CHARLES FREER ANDREWS was born in Newcastle-on-Tyne on February 12, 1871. He was educated at King Edward’s School, Birmingham and Pembroke College, Cambridge. He took keen interest in rowing and achieved brilliant results in his examinations. He was appointed Head of the Pembroke College Mission in 1896 and became a Fellow of Pembroke College and Vice-Principal of Westcott House, Cambridge, in 1900. In 1904 he joined the Cambridge Brotherhood and was appointed Professor at St. Stephen’s College, Delhi. In 1908 he was made a Fellow of the Panjab University, and for some time was a member of the Syndicate of that University and contributed much to the development of the College. Here he took up the cause of Indian Christians working in Colleges and in the Indian Church. He believed that able and qualified Indians should be appointed to positions of responsibility in the academic institutions as well as in the Church. It was entirely through his efforts that the first Indian Principal of a first grade Christian College was appointed. When he was offered the Principalship he refused the offer and insisted that an Indian should be appointed Principal. Similarly in the appointment of the first Indian Bishop of the Anglican Church Mr. ANDREWS exerted a great influence.

It was in 1912 that he had first met RABINDRANATH TAGORE in London. Mr. ANDREWS showed his eagerness to join his work at Santiniketan. This was a turning point of his life. In 1913 he joined TAGORE’S Institution. The same year he went to South Africa to help the Smuts-Gandhi agreement ; and here began his life-long friendship with Mahātmā GANDHI. Mr. ANDREWS proceeded to Fiji in connection with the abolition of Indentured Indian Labour in 1916 and 1917. In 1923 he was Adviser to the Indian Delegation at Kenya Conversations in London. Two years later he again went to South Africa, this time to help in the agreement between South Africa and India, which was signed in January 1927. In 1929 he went to Vancouver,

Canada, as a delegate to the Education Conference held there and also visited British Guiana to espouse the cause of the Indian settlers there. His visits to British Guiana and other Colonies in the West Indies invariably resulted in the amelioration of the conditions of Indians. The political and social disabilities of Indian Settlers in the Colonies and the Dominions were always in his mind. He was an honorary member of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association since its inception in 1915. He made a special study of this problem—the position of Indians overseas, and spared nothing to bring out harmony and justice between different communities. “No Indian,” truly said the Hon. Sir G. S. BAJPAI who paid a tribute to his memory, “could have given more to this cause (of the Indians overseas) than the late Mr. ANDREWS.” He accompanied Mahātmā GANDHI during his visit to England to attend the Round Table Conference.

In 1935-36 Pembroke College, Cambridge, offered him Fellowship. In 1936 he lectured on Pastoral Theology in the University. He returned to India in 1937. During the later years of his life Mr. ANDREWS made his home at Santiniketan and it was from Santiniketan that he went to Calcutta on January 27 last to undergo his first operation. He was visited in hospital by Mahātmā GANDHI on February 17, and the hospital authorities had difficulty in restraining the constant stream of his friends. He recovered slightly then and was taken to a nursing home, where the second operation was performed. In the last days of his life he was attended by Mahātmā GANDHI'S secretary and the son and daughter-in-law of the Poet. TAGORE sent his son to Mr. ANDREWS with the message : “My heart is with you and you are my constant prayer”. Mr. ANDREWS' end was peaceful. We quote his own words : “I have been wonderfully helped in thus keeping *shānti* (Peace) by thoughts of Gurudeva (TAGORE) and all I have learnt at Santiniketan : also by Mahātmā GANDHI and what I have learnt from him all these past years. Above all, from the loving spiritual visits in the hospital, from day to day, of the METROPOLITAN whose Christian faith has marvelously sustained me through all these days of very great suffering and bodily weakness. . . . God has given me in my life the greatest of all gifts, namely, the gift of loving friends. At this moment when I am laying my life in His hands, I would like to acknowledge again what I have acknowledged in my books : this supreme gift of friendship both in India and in other parts of the world. For while I have written so far about those who are near me here in India I have been all the while equally conscious of the supreme loving friends in my own dear land of England, whose spiritual help I have been receiving along with constant letters and telegrams. I have also had the same spiritual help from friends who have telegraphed me in other parts of the world.”

The death occurred at 1-40 A.M., April 5 ; the funeral took place in the evening. The service at St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, was conducted by the METROPOLITAN of India, who also read the final part of the Service at the Cemetery when the coffin was committed to the grave.

In 1914 TAGORE wrote a poem to welcome him at Santiniketaṁ. In translation the poem reads :

“From the shrine of the West
You have brought us living water,
We welcome you, friend.

The East has offered you
Her garland of love,
Accept it and welcome, friend.

You have come to us
As a gift of the Lord
We bow to him, friend.”

—Truly, a gift of the Lord !

B. P. B.

M. P.

REVIEWS

Dharmakośa : Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa, Vol. I, Part I : *Vyavahāramātrikā* (1937), pp. 34 + 30 + 598 + 20 + 84 + 72 + 4 ; Part II : *Vivādapadāni* (1938), pp. 132 + 599-1589. Edited by LAXMANSHASTRI JOSHI, Tarkateerth ; published by Prājñapāṭhaśālā Maṇḍala, Wai (Dist. Satara).

Since 1925 the Prājñapāṭhaśālā Maṇḍala of Wai has undertaken to prepare and publish a comprehensive, almost encyclopaedic, arrangement of the ancient Indian religious texts, beginning from the Ṛgveda down to the latest *smṛti*, accompanied by explanations gleaned from numerous commentaries and *nibandhas*, wherever possible. The work was begun in 1925 by Shri Nārāyaṇshāstrī MARATHE ; since his retirement in 1931 it is being continued under the chief editorship of Shri LAXMANSHĀSTRĪ JOSHI, Tarkatīrtha, the present President of the Maṇḍala.

The two parts, now out, cover what is called the *Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa*. Part I is devoted to the elements of the legal procedure (*vyavahāramātrikāḥ*) ; part II to the eighteen titles of law (*vivādapadāni*). A perusal of these parts will convince the reader of the excellent plan of the whole work ; a very clear and convenient digest of the original texts and other extracts has been presented here so that it is easy to find "an orderly sequence of cultural evolution in regard to each topic dealt with."

The completion of the *Dharmakośa* will require several such volumes. It will, when complete, be the most useful source-book for the study of Hindu law and politics, and of ancient Indian religions, ethics, philosophical systems and social institutions. The published parts thereof raise every hope that this stupendous undertaking will be a complete success and will form a noteworthy monument of *śāstric* learning and scholarship.

We congratulate the Editorial Board of the *Dharmakośa* and their collaborators on the success so far attained by them and bid the remaining of their gigantic task good-speed.

MANILAL PATEL.

Pre-Buddhist India : By RATILAL N. MEHTA, M.A. (Examiner Press, Bombay) 1939. Rs. 15.

The Indian Historical Research Institute of the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, is doing valuable work in the cause of ancient Indian history and culture under the guidance of Rev. Fr. HERAS. The present volume, which

contains a Foreword from Fr. HERAS, is a worthy addition to the series. The object of the author is "to visualise the picture of ancient India through the *Jātaka* stories." No doubt there are works dealing with the Buddhist Age by FICK, RHYS DAVIDS, RAY CHAUDHURY, SEN and others; but they viewed the *Jātakas* from particular angles of vision. Mr. MEHTA's work marks a distinct advance over these forerunners in the field in that it is a comprehensive, thorough and exhaustive study of the *Jātakas* with a critical analysis of the available data thereon with the author's conclusions.

Opinions may, with equal justification, differ as to the historicity of the *Jātakas*, there being eminent scholars lending their support to each side. The present reviewer, however, inclines to the view of taking the *Jātakas* as presenting historical material. Mr. MEHTA's book has been divided into five sections, the first two dealing respectively with 'Political History' and 'Administrative Organization'. Sources likely to throw light on the period such as the later Vedic literature, the epics, the *Purāṇas* and the *Arthaśāstra* have been liberally drawn upon. The next section concerns itself with 'Economic Aspects', and 'Sociological Conditions' under various sub-sections such as the position of woman, education, arts and sciences, etc., forms the fourth section. It was before a couple of years that, for purposes of getting particulars of the sociological conditions of the Buddhist Age, the present reviewer had, in the absence of any comprehensive study like Mr. MEHTA's work, no other choice but to tap the original sources. Mr. MEHTA's book has lightened the task of future students in the line who want a picture of the Buddhist period. 'The Geography of the *Jātakas*' is the last section towards the end of which, 'Geographical Lexicon' gives some 212 items from the *Jātakas* and tries at their identification. The map appended at the end contains important places, rivers, etc.

Dr. A. A. MACDONELL writing before thirty years referred to the bias prevailing during the last century against 'Indexes', and stressed the necessity of supplying adequate Indexes to books in view of the rapid increase in the production of books as also of the amount of time wasted in referring to books without Indexes. The necessity has increased a thousand-fold at present. Mr. MEHTA's book, no doubt, contains an Index, but it is imperfect and inadequate. It does not include such names as BHANDARKAR, FAUSBÖLL, FICK, RHYS DAVIDS, JAYASWAL, etc., whom Mr. MEHTA has referred to. In the case of the items forming part of the Index full references have not been given. It may be suggested that in future editions of the book full Index be given for facilitating reference.

The jacket, paper, type and printing of the book are nice. We commend the book to those interested in ancient Indian culture in general and Buddhist age in particular, and hope that it will find its place in the shelves of many a library.

A. D. PUSALKER.

Hindu Social Institutions. By PANDHARINATH H. VALAVALKAR, PH.D., LL.B.
[With a Foreword by Sir RADHAKRISHNAN, KT., M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A.]
Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. (1939). Pp. XX, XVII ;
388. Price Rs. 7/8.

We accord a hearty welcome to this penetrating treatise on Hindu Social Institutions and their socio-psychological implications, whose author, Dr. VALAVALKAR, has, we believe, made hereby a distinct contribution to Hindu Sociology. As the author himself says, "it is an institutional approach to the basic social psychology of the Hindus." A scientific account of the many important aspects of the Hindu social organisation, namely, (i) the basis of human relations : the problem of Existence and its implications, (ii) the social psychology underlying the system of the four *Āśramas*, (iii) the psychology of Education, (iv) marriage, (v) the Hindu family, (vi) the Woman in Hindu society, and (vii) the four *Varṇas*, is presented herein with the ability and understanding of a true scholar. Dr. VALAVALKAR brings his first-hand knowledge of the original Sanskrit texts and his vast reading of modern works on Psychology, Ethics and Philosophy to bear on the task he has undertaken. The book is well documented and indexed and appended with a bibliography covering over 30 pages.

Within the short space of a review, full justice to this scholarly and thought-provoking book is hardly possible. We strongly recommend it for a serious study to all those who would like to have a true understanding of the essential spirit of the Hindu social institutions.

MANILAL PATEL.

Varāṅgacaritam : By Prof. Dr. A. N. UPADHYE, M.A., D.LITT. (*Māṇikachandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā*, No. 40) Bombay, 1938, pp. xiv + 88 + 395. Price Rs. 3.

Māṇikachandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā has been continually rendering substantial service to the advancement of Jaina thought and culture by bringing out scholarly editions of unpublished works. It is now known to all how difficult it is to construct a correct conception of a lost culture by piecing together the scattered fragments. Editions of *Jaina Śilālekha Samgraha*, *Mahāpurāṇa* and *Nyāya Kumudacandra* held out bright hopes which are to a very great extent fulfilled by the publication of *Varāṅgacarita*—the book under review.

Prof. Dr. A. N. UPADHYE, the editor of the book, needs no introduction. His editions of *Pañcasuttam*, *Pravacanasāra* and *Paramātma-prakāśa* which are finished products in themselves are concrete examples of his exact knowledge of Prākṛits and sound reasoning—the requisites of a master editor.

As late as 1933 *Varāṅgacarita* was attributed to Raviśeṇa, the author of *Padmacarita*, on the strength of the following verse from Udyotanāsūri's *Kuvalayamālā* :—

जेहिं कए रमणिजे वरंगपउमाण चरियवित्थारे ।
कह व ण सलाहणिजे ते कहणो जडियरविसेणो ॥

The words *jehin*, *te*, *kaino* as used in the above-mentioned verse clearly indicate two persons but the mistake of taking them as honorific plurals and the phrase जडियरविसेणो as perhaps a *karmadhāraya* compound was removed by the recent researches of the editor who took the two verses (1, 34-35) of Jināsena's *Harivamśa-purāṇa* (vols. 32-33 of this *Series*) as independent verses having no syntactical connection between them and the misleading phrase जडियरविसेणो as a *dvandva* compound (it would have been more grammatical and true to facts if the manuscript would have had जडिलरविसेणो). Getting clue this way from this and from Dhavala's *Harivamśa* the editor started researches which resulted in a complete revision of the theory that was uptill now in vogue.

The editor has attached a brilliant introduction in which he has discussed with a scholarly grasp all possible aspects regarding the poem. Tracing of Aśvaghōṣa's influence on Jaṭilamuni, the established author of *Varāṅgacarita*, is really ingenious. The editor has worked with utmost caution and conservatism as he had at his disposal limited material supplied by only two palm-leaf manuscripts. His emendations in the square brackets and notes sound quite convincing. And we shall not be surprised if a third *MS.* comes to be found out and shows agreement with the suggested emendations, as occurred in the case of MUNI JINAVIJAYAJI whose reconstruction of the 15th verse of *Kuvalayamālā* bearing on Haribhadrāsūri came out true (see *Jaina Sāhitya Samśodhaka*, I, 1, 52 and III, 2, 179).

Though the editor has exercised judicious care in selecting the variants, there is bound to arise honest difference of opinions, e.g., प्रवच्चयति according to us would have been better than प्रपच्चयति (see page 122, footnote), etc. Notes do not claim to be exhaustive and explanatory but they are quite to the point and only textual. They would have been of real use to the average reader had the editor thought it fit to give some annotations on technical terms such as *Bhogabhūmi*, *Karmabhūmi*, *Dharmabhūmi*, *Adharma*, etc. Indexes and *Padyasūci* are both helpful.

In conclusion, we take this opportunity of congratulating the Secretary of the Series and especially the editor for bringing out such a valuable publication. We highly appreciate the substantial financial help given to the undertaking by the University of Bombay.

Compared with the importance of original publications like this, the price is very moderate.

A. S. GOPANI.

Kāśyapa-Saṁhitā or *Vṛddha Jivakīyatantra*. An old Sanskrit work on medicine published in 1995 (Vikrama Samvat), with a lengthy introduction of Pandit HEMARĀJA SHARMA, by Āyurveda Mārtanḍa JADAVJI TRIKUMJI ACHARYA. (The first 'stabaka' of the *Nepal Sanskrit Series*.) Critical edition by Āyurveda Mārtanḍa—J. T. ACHARYA and Pandit SOMANATH SHARMA. (Price Rs. 5.)

This is the first publication of the *Nepal Sanskrit series*, edited by the Nepal Rājaguru, Shri HEMARĀJA SHARMA. He is a profound scholar and a proof of his ability to write volumes in Sanskrit is offered by the lengthy introduction to this work. His vast library at Nepal consists of books, Hindi, Gujarati and English ; though the most valuable part of it is a big collection of hand-written manuscripts, some of which are not available elsewhere. Out of these an ancient manuscript of the *Mahābhārata* was sent by him to the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, and the last number of its *Annals* has recognised its helpfulness in the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, undertaken by it.

Amongst the ancient Indian lores which can be called scientific and which have survived the ravages of time to a certain extent are the science of (1) medicine, including Anatomy, Chemistry, etc., and (2) Astronomy, with mathematics etc. The science of medicine in India has so far two works on which its whole structure is based, namely the *Caraka* and the *Suśruta*. Looking to these and to their numerous commentaries, we are assured of many *Saṁhitā*-works of even older date, which are lost to us. A small portion of this interred wealth was found in the Tanjore Library and published by the Calcutta University. It is an incomplete work, known by the name, the *Bheḷa Saṁhitā*. A similar other incomplete piece is the *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā* obtained from Nepal.

Like the *Caraka* and the *Suśruta*, the *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā* too has passed through three generations. The great sage, Marīca Kāśyapa, was the first preacher, whose pupil, Vṛddha Jivakācārya, preserved it in a condensed form ; then, one of his heirs, named Vātsya, re-edited the work, as Caraka re-edited the *Caraka Saṁhitā*. The *Caraka* is mainly a work dealing with the science of Medicine, the *Suśruta* with the science of Surgery, while the *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā* chiefly deals with the diseases of children, as is clearly stated in the last words of the "Indriyasthāna and the Kalpasthāna." The language of the *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā* closely resembles that of the *Caraka* ; the *Suśruta* and the *Bheḷa*, with the only difference that the prose passages in the former are scant. Even the subject-analysis follows the style of them all.

It is very difficult owing to its incompleteness to analyse the work thoroughly, but as there are topics in the *Bheḷa Saṁhitā* which are not found in the *Caraka* or the *Suśruta*, so the *Kāśyapa Saṁhitā* too, contains many new subjects. As an illustration, Vaidya Pandit Shri KANAITYALALJI SHARMA, from his presidential address of the 25th Congress of the "Nūтана Vyādhi Vichāra Sambhāsa Parishad" at Ahmedabad, has cited 'Rickets'. This is primarily a disease of children, marked by weak bones, diminution of blood,

weak digestion and late outcome of teeth, etc. This name is quite new and nowhere found in the medicinal literature except in the *Kāśyapa Samhitā*, which is positively an important addition to the *Samhitā*-literature on medicine. Not only does it await research, but should find place in the library of every medical college. The usefulness of this ancient, though incomplete, *Samhitā* is far greater than later works which merely preserve the ancient formulae.

The critical introduction to the *Kāśyapa Samhitā* by the Nepal Rājaguru, Shri HEMARĀJA SHARMA, which is lengthier than even the original work itself, discusses some main points of medicinal history. It explains the significance of medicinal science, refers to the preachers and editors of the *Bhela*, the *Kāśyapa*, the *Hārīta* and the *Ātreya Samhitās*, and compares them. It also dwells long upon a discussion whether Indian Medicinal Science is indebted to Greece, or *vice versa*.

The original preacher of the *Kāśyapa Samhitā* is Mārīca Kāśyapa. In the *Purāṇas*, *Kāśyapa Prajāpati* is famous as grandson of Brahmā and son of Marīci. Kālidāsa has referred to him in his *Abhijñānaśākuntala*. Yet it is also possible that there might have been some other Ṛṣi, by the same name.

The etymology for the word Vṛddha Jīvaka has a Purāṇic history behind it, which is by no means necessary for our purpose. It is probable that a physician, named Vṛddha Jīvaka, composed the *Kāśyapa-Tantra* and though Kāśyapa, the grandson of Brahmā and the begetter of the Ādityas is a fictitious character of the *Purāṇas* and not a historic personage, it is not impossible that many sages bearing the same name lived in days gone by.

An heir of Vṛddha Jīvaka, by name Vātsya, is said to have re-edited the *Kāśyapa Samhitā* which, we are told, was not used in the Kalī age. This Vātsya, no doubt, is a historical person.

DURGASHANKER K. SHASTRI.

Narmad—Arvācīnomā Ādya. By Shri KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI. Publishers R. R. Sheth's Co., Bombay (1939), pp. 128. Price Re. 1/4. [In Gujarati.]

This is a brilliant study of the life and work of a well-known literary figure of Gujarat, Narmadashanker Lalshanker (1833-1886). Shri MUNSHI calls him *arvācīnomā ādya*, implying thereby that Narmadashanker was a harbinger of a new age in Gujarati literature.

Narmad's life was full of romance and adventure. Burning with a revolutionary zeal and longing to devote himself wholeheartedly to the literary life, he gave up his employment at the age of 25. "On this day (November 23, 1858) I came here," he says in his autobiography (*Māri Hakikata*), "and looking

at my pen with tears in my eyes, I said : 'from now, I place my head in your lap.'” This heroic vow cost him a long, grim struggle with want and poverty. In actual life too, Narmad showed revolutionary conduct. He is sometimes styled *sudhārāno payagambar* ‘an apostle of modernity (or unconventionality).’ He not only advocated widow-remarriage, but sheltered a widow and faced excommunication from his caste circles, and is said to have even married another widow in 1869.

All the incidents of Narmada's life are described in the book under notice by Shri MUNSHI with his inimitable skill and style. Indeed, Shri MUNSHI's pen has the merit of making biography as attractive as his novels.

Whilst we were going through the pages of this stimulating study of Narmad's life, the words with which André MAUROIS concluded his book on Disraeli came often to our mind : “...perhaps as some old Spirit of Spring, ever vanquished and ever alive, and as a symbol of what can be accomplished in a cold and hostile universe, by a long youthfulness of heart.”

MANILAL PATEL.

The True India. By C. F. ANDREWS. (Allen and Unwin. 6s.)

Changing India. Edited by RAJA RAO and IQBAL SINGH. (Allen and Unwin. 5s.)

East Versus West. By P. KODANDA RAO. (Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

The true India is a fascinating book. It was published last year. Mr. ANDREWS was distressed by the hideous lies and twisted facts about India propagated by Miss MAYO and her tribe. If anyone can have a claim to write an authentic account of a country after over thirty years' services to it, Mr. ANDREWS certainly has a better claim for it. In fact, he possesses all the necessary qualifications for such a task. Mr. ANDREWS recapitulates the main arguments and allegations of the Anti-Indian (incidentally, predominantly anti-Hindu) propagandists : that Hinduism is a sex-ridden religion, its people are hopelessly sex perverts and degenerate, ignorant and superstitious and that their habits are beastly, their manners and customs, barbarous. Mr. ANDREWS demolishes all these charges by gentle persuasion of unvarnished truth. There is balance and sanity in his treatment which is admirably concise and lucid.

He is heart and soul with the True India—the India of the countless villages. It is there, he righteously tells the inquiring Westerners, that the real India lies : its incredible contrasts, its appalling poverty, ignorance and goodness and nobility, diseases and festivities, the simple and frugal life of the hard-working poor peasants. Whereas Miss MAYO finds nothing but all kinds of sex perversion and degeneration in Indian life, all mud and filth, Mr.

ANDREWS is deeply touched by the health of the communal life of the villages. With almost lyrical touches he describes the women of India with their Madonna-like faces and the high level of their sex morality. Mr. ANDREWS is never an uncritical admirer of Indian life. He is equally frank and outspoken in his references to untouchability, superstitions, mass illiteracy and many other evils that have crept into the villages during the past century. He shows an amazing understanding of the main traditions of life and thought in India. Some of Mr. ANDREWS' opinions will not meet with general assent; for example, he praises the social virtues of the joint-family system. A modern Indian mind, perhaps, will not accept this. But the great point is that his analysis is perfectly sound and true. He has entered into the spirit of the Indian culture and touched upon all that is fundamentally representative of it. There is a note of passion in the appeal for honest understanding. For he firmly believes that only on this rests the problem of harmony and collaboration between East and West. Only a devoted lover of India could have etched some of the searching and intimate chapters revealing the forces which go to the making of the great nation. This book should find a place in all institutions, and no better handbook on India can be recommended to people of other countries for correct information of the True India.

Changing India is an interesting anthology of the writings from Raja Ram Mohan ROY to Pandit Jawaharlal NEHRU. The aim of the editors is to give a coherent idea of vast changes, growth and progress in thought in the social and cultural spheres in India during the last century. The book should prove equally interesting and informative to both the students as well as the general readers.

East Versus West is a valuable contribution made by Mr. P. Kodanda RAO of the Servants of India Society. He rejects the facile view that East is East and West is West. He denies the contrast, the rigid dividing line usually applied to both these civilisations. The book is written in easy, clear and delightful style, and has an encouraging foreword from Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN.

BALWANT BHATT.

Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya : Original text with Marathi translation by Mahāmahopādhyāya VĀSUDEVA ŚĀSTRĪ ABHYANKAR. Vol. I (Adhyāya I, Pādas 1 and 2). Deccan Education Society, Poona, 1938. Royal 8 vo pp. 609. Price Rs. 10.

It was in the fitness of things that the Deccan Education Society of Poona proposed to commemorate the 75th birth-day of Mahāmahopādhyāya VĀSUDEVA ŚĀSTRĪ ABHYANKAR by deciding to publish his Marathi translation of

Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya. The present volume is the first in the series of five volumes that will complete the whole *Bhāṣya*. Mahāmahopādhyāya VĀSUDEVA ŚĀSTRĪ is well known to Sanskritists in India. He belongs to, what may now be called, the last band of scholars, thoroughly well-versed in all the *Śāstras* through methods of traditional learning, which unhappily is fast disappearing, owing alike to want of appreciation and want of appropriate schools. The edition of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* that VĀSUDEVA ŚĀSTRĪ brought out in the *Government Oriental Series*,—especially his learned introduction and original commentary in Sanskrit,—has shown his depth of scholarship and felicity of expression. Some of his original Sanskrit compositions and commentaries have been published in the *Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series* and the *Govt. Oriental Series*. MM. ABHYANKAR ŚĀSTRĪ has also translated into Marathi the celebrated *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya in the *Gaekwad Series*. By his all-round knowledge of the systems of Sanskrit philosophy and Sanskrit literature as also by his vast experience as a teacher, the learned ŚĀSTRĪ was expected to do full justice to the work undertaken by him and we are glad to find that he has thoroughly justified the expectations. His translation runs smooth and is easily intelligible.

Out of the different systems of Sanskrit grammar, Pāṇini's system alone is generally studied and naturally Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has ousted all the previous works in the field. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* is the oldest and the most widely read *bhāṣya* on Pāṇini. One of the causes for its popularity among the students of grammar and scholars may be said to be its style, which, as has been rightly observed by Dr. BELVALKAR, "is unparalleled in the whole range of Sanskrit literature, only the *Śārirabhāṣya* of Śaṅkara being worthy of a mention by its side."

There is at present no complete translation of the *Mahābhāṣya* available in any language—Indian or foreign. And as press copy of the whole translation is ready, we think Marathi will get the proud distinction of being the first vehicle through which Patañjali reached the general reader.

The printing and get up of the book are good ; and considering these and the amount of labour involved in bringing out such productions, the price need not be considered high. The Society is in need of funds for the publication of the remaining volumes of the work, and it is to be hoped that generous donors will follow the example of Śrīman PRATAP SHET of Amalner, and also that libraries and the general public will show their appreciation by purchasing copies of this valuable book.

A. D. PUSALKER.

Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vo. I, No. I. December 1939. Poona.

This is the inaugural number of the quarterly *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, which will be acclaimed with warm welcome by

all interested in research studies in history, sociology, linguistics and Sanskrit.

The number opens with a Foreword by Shri R. P. MASANI, M.A., Chairman of the Institute, and contains eleven papers, all contributed by the scholars connected with the Institute. Students of Sanskrit and linguistics may well go through the following papers : (i) 'Epic Questions'—V. S. SUKTHANKAR, (ii) "Apropos Epic Iyāt"—S. M. KATRE, (iii) "The Ṛgveda Mantras in their Ritual Setting in the Gṛhya Sūtras—V. M. APTE, (iv) "Reduplicatives in Indo-Aryan"—S. M. KATRE, (v) Absolutives in the... Virāṭaparvan"—M. A. MEHENDALE, and (vi) "Reconstruction of the Proto-Dravidian Pronouns"—C. R. SANKARAN. Of interest to the students of history are (i) "XVIIth century...Inscriptions from Nepal"—H. D. SANKALIA, (ii) "Some Important Personalities of Baghdād"—C. H. SHAIKH, (iii) "François Martin"—R. G. HARSHE, and (iv) "The Geographical Factor in the History of Mahārāṣṭra"—T. S. SHEJWALKAR. There is also an article on "Some Folk-songs of Maharashtra" by Dr. Iravati KARVÉ. The present number of the *Bulletin* ends with a review of our Journal, *Bhāratiya Vidyā*.

We congratulate the scholars connected with the Institute for bringing out the *Bulletin*, indeed "a splendid achievement" as claimed in the Foreword, and wish both the Institute and the *Bulletin* a very long career of creative research and enlightening interpretation.

MANILAL PATEL.

The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India. Chief Editor, AJIT GHOSE, M.A., ; Editor for Muhammadan Coins : R. G. GYANI, M.A., No. 1. 1939. pp. ii + 100, XI Plates. Published by the Numismatic Society of India.

We welcome this first number of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* which has made its separate appearance in pursuance of a resolution passed at the last Annual Meeting of the Society at Calcutta. Hitherto the Journal appeared merely as the Numismatic Supplement to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The decision of the Society to have its own Journal will be a blessing in more ways than one. For one thing, it may be expected to be regular in appearance ; latest researches will thus be made known to the public with least possible delay ; and more space can be devoted to matters concerning numismatics, including reviews, contents of Oriental Journals, etc.

The volume before us contains no less than twenty-one articles—a veritable feast to one interested in Numismatics. The opening article on "A Hoard of Punch-marked Coins" is by Mr. DURGA PRASAD of Benares whose work was commended by the late Dr. JAYASWAL in his Presidential Address

at the Baroda Oriental Conference. That well-known expert on Sasanian Coins, Mr. F. D. J. PARUCK, has translated his original article in French for this issue with additional notes, and has also contributed a new article on "Three Bronze Coins of Persis". Mr. GIRINDRASEKHAR BOSE has drawn attention to a number of important and interesting particulars about the Coins of the Andhra Period. Muhammadan Numismatics, under the specialized stewardship of Mr. RANCHHODLAL GYANI, is fairly represented in some nine articles. Of interest to the general reader is the article by Sir RICHARD BURN entitled "The Law of Treasure Trove in India", which has been revised and brought up-to-date by Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, Director-General of Archæology in India. Prof. V. V. MIRASHI on the strength of a hoard of coins recently unearthed draws attention to the Nala dynasty referred to in the *Purāṇas*. We think, with the learned contributor, that the gold pieces represent the coinage of the period. Dr. ALTEKAR, Dr. SANKALIA and Mr. AJIT GHOSE have also contributed important articles, the first dealing with the problem of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman on the basis of a careful consideration of numismatic data. Mr. GADRE describes some important and rare pre-Muhammadan coins discovered by the Archæological Department of Baroda State, and Mr. GYANI writes about "Some Important and Unpublished Coins of the Sindhis". The plates towards the end are carefully and artistically executed giving the exact idea of the coins thereby making the articles all the more intelligible. In the "Notes", the editors write about recent finds, acquisitions, coins for sale, etc., and also refer to articles on Numismatics in various journals. We may suggest that it would help readers a good deal if a short summary of the articles were given.

We cannot but have words of praise for this fine production, and confidently hope that the high standard will always be maintained.

A. D. PUSALKER.

NOTES OF THE BHAVAN

[In this section a connected account of the activities of the various Departments of the BHAVAN will be given in each issue of the JOURNAL.—Ed.]

THIRD SESSION (November 1939 to March 1940)

The BHAVAN associated itself with the GUJARAT RESEARCH SOCIETY in celebrating “Dr. Bhagwanlal Commemoration Day” on November 18, 1939. Several members of the BHAVAN paid their tribute to the memory of the great scholar in a public meeting convened on the occasion, at the Town Hall, Bombay.

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On November 16, 1939 our President and Shrimati Lilavati K. MUNSHI gave an At Home to the Founder-Members and other friends of the BHAVAN at our present premises. The Secretaries took the opportunity of submitting a brief account of the activities of the BHAVAN to the gathering and our President gave an idea of the various schemes under consideration concerning the future expansion of the BHAVAN.

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In co-operation with the SAHITYA SANSAD, the BHAVAN celebrated its Annual Day on *Kārttika Pūrṇimā* (November 26, 1939), which was a great success. The Annual *Śāradotsava* function of the SAHITYA SANSAD also took place simultaneously on this occasion. The inaugural issues of the two JOURNALS of the BHAVAN were published on the Annual Day. We are happy to note that the JOURNALS have been very well received in the press and in the learned circles of our country. A few opinions are given on cover pages 3 and 4.

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During the present session also members of the staff of the BHAVAN offered their co-operation to the University of Bombay in conducting the Post-Graduate classes in Sanskrit and Ardhamagadhi. With a view to fostering research-mindedness among young scholars the BHAVAN has created several research scholarships and two graduates, Shri M. B. TRIVEDI, B.A., and Shri H. C. BHAYANI, B. A., are given research scholarships from the current session. They are staying on the premises of the BHAVAN and are carrying on their studies under direct supervision of the Director.

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The third series of the *Extension Lectures on Indian Culture* was conducted as usual during this session as mentioned below :

DATE	LECTURER	SUBJECT
Jan. 13, 1940	Dr. Manilal PATEL, Ph.D.	Culture and Civilisation of Indo-Europeans.
Jan. 20, 1940	Prof. A. S. GOPANI, M.A.	Navatattavas of the Jaina System.
Jan. 27, 1940	Muni Shri JINAVIJAYAJI.	Jaina Historical Literature.
Feb. 3, 1940	Shri R. G. GYANI, M. A.	History of the Coinage of Gujarat.
Feb. 10, 1940	Dr. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law.	The Sasanians.
Feb. 17, 1940	Miss Sushila MEHTA, M.A., LL.B.	રામાયુગ્મચાર્થ અને તેમનો સંપ્રદાય.
Feb. 24, 1940	Shri Bachubhai SHUKLA.	પ્રેમાનંદ.
March 2, 1940	Prof. S. D. GYANI, M.A.	Ancient India and Outer World.

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The University of Bombay has recognised Dr. Manilal PATEL as University Teacher for the Ph.D. degree in Sanskrit. Two members of the staff of the BHAVAN, Shri A. S. GOPANI, M.A., and Shri A. D. PUSALKER, M.A., LL.B., are preparing their theses respectively on *Jñānapañcamīkathā* and on *Vāyupurāṇa* under the guidance of Dr. PATEL. These, when ready, will be submitted by their authors to the University for the Ph.D. degree.

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The Annual General Meeting of the members of the BHAVAN was held on February 11, 1940. The Secretaries presented before the Meeting the Annual Report and the statements of the Audited Accounts and the Balance Sheet as on December 31, 1939 duly audited by the BHAVAN's Auditors, Messrs. Jayantilal Thakkar & Co., 111, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay, which were adopted and approved by the meeting. The General Meeting then appointed the under-mentioned Executive Committee for the year 1940 :

PRESIDENT :

Shri K. M. Munshi, B.A., LL.B., M.L.A.

VICE-PRESIDENT :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. V. Divatia, M.A., LL.B.

TREASURERS :

Shri Pranlal Devkaran Nanjee, J.P.

Shri Vasantram Jamietram Vakil, B.A., LL.B., J.P.

SECRETARIES :

Shri Tricumdas Dwarkadas, Solicitor.

Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph.D.

MEMBERS :

Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B.

Shri Mungalal Goenka.

Shri Chunilal Bhaichand Mehta, Ex-Sherif.

Rao Bahadur Chunilal H. Setalvad, C.I.E., Bar-at-Law.

Seth Hargovindas Jivandas, J.P.

Muni Shri Jinavijayaji.

Shri Umadatt Nemani.

Shri Chatrabhuj Gordhandas, J.P.

Shri Sangji Sunderji.

Shri Chimanal C. Shah, M.A., LL.B.

Shri Thakoredas Nanabhai Merchant, M.A., LL.B.

Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law.

Moreover, the Executive Committee has co-opted the under-mentioned gentlemen as Members of the Executive Committee under Article No. 19 of the *Rules & Regulations* of the BHAVAN :

- (i) Shri Hemchand Mohanlal Jhaveri.
- (ii) Shri Dharamsey Mulraj Khatau.
- (iii) Shri Mansukhlal A. Master.
- (iv) Shri Ramdeo Anandilal Podar.

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The text of the *Vissuddhimagga*, a philosophical work on Buddhism, edited by Prof. Dharmanand KOSAMBI, has already been printed and is expected to be out during June, 1940. The press-copy of Jacobi's *Essayas on Apanh-ramśa*, translated into English from the original German by Dr. Manilal PATEL, is now ready and the printing arrangements for the same are being made. The edition of *Riṣṭasamuccaya* prepared by Prof. A. S. GOPANI, M.A., is being issued as a supplement to our English JOURNAL from the current part. The other works undertaken by the members of the staff of the BHAVAN are in progress. They are being announced on page ii of this issue.

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The Tenth All-India Oriental Conference which met at Tirupati during the Easter Holidays, 1940, was attended by Dr. PATEL as BHAVAN's dele-

gate. He read two papers : one before the Vedic Section and the other before the Linguistic Section of the Conference. The Council of the Conference passed a Resolution in which they noted with satisfaction the establishment of the BHAVAN and congratulated it for its vigorous programme of research and literary activities.

Dr. Manilal PATEL is elected President of the Vedic Section of the forthcoming Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Hyderabad (Dn.) during the Christmas Holidays, 1941.

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The FORBES GUJARATI SABHĀ, Bombay, celebrated its 75th Anniversary-Day on March 1, 1940. The BHAVAN congratulates the SABHĀ on this auspicious occasion and notes with great pleasure the contribution made so far by the SABHĀ to the enrichment of the Gujarati Literature by several worthy publications including its *Quarterly*.

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The progress of *Shri Mumbadevi Sanskrit Pāṭhashālā* has been quite satisfactory. Two students appeared for the Third Part of *Sāhitya-Shāstrī* Examination of the Benares Government Sanskrit College and passed with first-class marks. One student appeared for the *Vyākaraṇa Madhyamā* (Second Part), and two for *Sarva-Sādhārana-Prathamā* Examinations of the same College, and all of them have passed. Two students appeared for the *Kāvya-Prathamā* Examination conducted by the Bengal Government Sanskrit Association (Calcutta). Their results are not yet out.

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Dr. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law (one of our Founder-Members, and Member of our Executive Committee), is appointed, we have the pleasure to announce, Director of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, from June 1, 1940. Whilst welcoming this appointment, the BHAVAN places on record the invaluable services rendered by Dr. TARAPOREWALA to its various departments with his scholarly advice and active co-operation. We are grateful to Dr. TARAPOREWALA for the assurance he has given us that he will continue to take the same active interest in the activities of the BHAVAN and assist it in the same manner as before though from now onward he will be stationed in Poona.

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Shri S. D. GYANI, M.A. has been appointed "Shri Rameshwardas Birla Reader in Ancient Indian History" in the place of Pandit Jayachandra VIDYALANKARA, who resigned from the beginning of this session. The services of Shri Vishwanath M. BHATT had to be terminated for reasons of internal discipline on November 30, 1939.

Supplement

DURGADEVA'S
RISTASAMUCCAYA

By
AMRITLAL S. GOPANI, M.A.

PREFACE

Riṣṭasamuccaya is a small work containing 258 verses in Jaina Śaurasēnī Prākṛit by Durgadeva, a Digambara Jaina writer of the first half of the 11th century A.D. It deals with evil signs indicating death (*Riṣṭas*). Durgadeva finished it at Kumbhanagara ruled over by a king named Lakṣmīnivāsa, on the 11th day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in 1089 V.S. when the moon was in the Mūla, as is seen from the following colophon :

संवत्सरइगसहसे बोलीणे णवयसीइसंजुते सावणसुक्केआयसि दिअहंमि मूलरक्खंमि
॥ २५९ ॥ सिरिकुंभनयरणए सिरिलच्छिनिवासणिवइरज्जंमि ।

Two MSS. of the said work were available to me. Their description is as follows :

B : This is a photo copy of the MS. written in a Devanāgarī script. It was procured from the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Its acc. no. is 13190 under subject "Jain" in the Sanskrit section, and its extent is 11 folios or 20 pieces. The handwriting is good and uniform throughout. The copyist seems to be cautious but it appears he has inherited some mistakes from the original. Its first page has twelve lines while all the remaining (except the last which has got ten) have thirteen lines each. Roughly thirtyseven letters are accommodated in each line. It begins with ॐ नमः श्री जिनाय । पणमंतसुरासुरमउलिरयणवरकिरणकंतिविच्छुरिअं । and ends with सिरि संतिनाहभुवणे मुणिभविअसम्मउमेरेसि ॥ २५९ ॥ At many places especially from the eleventh verse right up to the twentieth verse and from 162 up to 176, 200 to 208, the MS. is not legible. It has some lacunae here and there. The total number of verses in this MS. as it is in the other also is 258 if we take verse 28 as a Sanskrit quotation placed in the body of the text and counted as a regular part of it.

P : This is a second manuscript procured from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Its number as stated on the cloth cover is 392 of 1879-80—new no. 35. It has got five folios or ten pages written on both the sides. Each page, except the last which has got twelve lines exclusive of *Dvāragāthā*, contains eighteen lines of approximately sixty letters. The MS. is in a fairly good order, is in Devanāgarī script and is legible throughout. It begins with नमः श्री सर्वज्ञाय । पणमंतसुरासुरमउलिरयणवरकिरणकंतिविच्छुरिअं and ends with सिरि संतनाहभवणे मुणिभवियस्स उमे रम्मे ॥ २५८ ॥ There are seven more *gāthās* at the end, the first of them being a *Dvāragāthā*. But they seem to have been added later as they reveal a different hand altogether. In the margin, there are marginal notes in Sanskrit at three places. There are some scribal errors and lacunae also as in the first MS. In this MS. verse no. 28 which appears as a Sanskrit quotation in the first MS. is not to be found. Verse no. 34 is numbered twice, no. 36 is missing, no. 77 is num-

bered twice, no. 196 is missing, no. 221 is numbered twice while no. 249 is missing. In short, three verses are numbered twice with the result that three appear to be missing though not really missing. Thus the total number of verses comes exactly upto 258 as in the first *MS.*

I have based the text of *Riṣṭasamuccaya* on the first *MS.*, styled B, as it has preserved some of the outstanding characteristics of Jaina Śauraseni in which the author seems to have written this small work. The illegible portion in this photo copy of the *MS.* was filled up from the second *MS.* which is named P, as both the *MSS.* belong to the same family. I have suggested in rectangular brackets the emendations which claim to be merely tentative in the case of common lacunae and also of common plain errors. Most of the variants are scribal slips and guesses but when there was a radical disagreement I have adopted that reading which appealed to me most and relegated the other to the footnotes. At many places in both the *MSS.* the nom. has been used for the acc. and many incorrect grammatical forms are also to be met with. At such places I have kept the text as it is, removing grammatical inaccuracy of the text in Sanskrit rendering. Still however at one or two places the text was baffling; I have, therefore, put a question mark there.

I have attached a Sanskrit *chāyā* along with English translation, and variants in the footnotes. Subsequent fascicules will contain an introduction fixing the probable date of Durgadeva and tracing the history and development of the idea of *Riṣṭas* as well as their scientific background comparing them with modern pathology. I have also a mind to give adequate notes, where necessary, and exhaustive indexes. For a comparative study, parallel passages from sources—Jaina and non-Jaina—are also to be added.

I take this opportunity of expressing my heart-felt gratitude to the Editorial Board of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan for undertaking to publish this work. I am also thankful to the Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and to the Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda, for their kindness in lending us their *MSS.* mentioned above.

AMRITLAL S. GOPANI

रिष्टसमुच्चय ।

ॐ नमः श्री जिनाय ।

- १ पणमंतसुरासुरमउलि रयणवरकिरणकंतिविच्छुरिअं ।
वीरजिणपायजुगलं नमिऊण भणामि^१ रिद्धाई ॥
- २ संसारंमि भमंतो † जीवो बहुभेअभिण्ण^२ जोणीसु ।
दुक्खेण नवरि पावइ^३ सुहमणुअत्तं न संदेहो ॥
- ३ पत्तंमि अ मणुअत्ते पिम्मं लच्छी^४ वि जीविअं अथिरं ।
धम्मो जिणिंददिदो होइ थिरो निव्विअप्पेण^५ ॥
- ४ पत्ते जिणिंदधम्मे मणुओ इह होइ वसणअभिभूओ ।
बहुविहपमायमतो कसाइओ चउकसाएहि ॥

१ ॐ नमः श्री जिनाय ।

प्रणमत्सुरासुरमौलिरत्नवरकिरणकान्तिविच्छुरितम् ।
वीरजिनपादयुगलं नत्वा भणामि रिष्टानि ॥

- २ संसारे भ्रमजीवो बहुभेदभिन्नयोनिषु ।
दुःखेन ननु प्राप्नोति शुभमनुजत्वं न संदेहः ॥
- ३ प्राप्ते च मनुजत्वे प्रेम लक्ष्मीरपि जीवितमस्थिरम् ।
धर्मो जिनेन्द्रदिष्टो भवति स्थिरो निर्विकल्पेन ॥
- ४ प्राप्ते जिनेन्द्रधर्मे मनुज इह भवति व्यसनाभिभूतः ।
बहुविधप्रमादमतः कषायितः चतुःकषायैः ॥

- 1 Om ! Bow to Jina. I describe the evil signs (Riṣṭas), having bowed to the pair of feet of Vira which shine on account of the splendour of the rays (shooting) from the costly gems of the crowns of gods and goblins bowing (to it).
- 2 It is true that (this) soul gets, indeed, auspicious humanhood with great exertion wandering over the world in a large variety of classes.
- 3 Even though (this) humanhood is obtained, love, Lakṣmī and life is transitory. Religion preached by the Jinās is undoubtedly permanent.
- 4 Even if Jinās' religion is resorted to, a human being is overpowered here with miseries as he falls prey to various types of carelessnesses and a quaternary of passions.

- ५ जूअमहुमज्जमंसं वेसापारद्धिचोर [चोरिअ] परदारं^१ ।
एआइं ताइं लोए वसणाइं जिणिंद दिइइं ॥
- ६ धम्मग्मि य अणुरत्तो वसणेहिं विवज्जिओ धुवं जीवो ।
नाणारोयाकिण्णो हवइ इह किं विअप्पेणं ॥
- ७ रोआणं^२ कोडीओ हवंति पंचेव^३ लक्ख अडसट्ठी ।
नवनवइसहस्साइं पंचसया तह चुलसी अँ ॥
- ८ एवंविहरोएहिं अभिभूओ तो न चितए धम्मम् ।
परलोअसाहणत्थं^४ इंदिअविसएहिं अभिभूओ ॥
- ९ चक्खू सोअं घ्राणं जीहा फासं च इंदिआ^५ पंच ।
रूवं सइं गंधं रसफासे^६ ताण विसए अ ॥

- ५ दूतमधुमद्यमांसानि वेद्या पापद्धिं चोर [चौर्यं] परदाराः ।
एतानि तानि लोके व्यसनानि जिनेन्द्रदिष्टानि ॥
- ६ धर्मे चानुरक्तो व्यसनैर्विवर्जितो ध्रुवं जीवः ।
नानारोगाकीर्णः भवतीह किं विकल्पेन ॥
- ७ रोगाणां क्रोश्यः भवन्ति पञ्चैव लक्षाष्टषष्टिः ।
नवनवतिः सहस्राणि पञ्चशतास्तथा चतुरशीतिश्च ॥
- ८ एवंविधरोगैरभिभूतस्ततो न चिन्तयति धर्मम् ।
परलोकसाधनार्थमिन्द्रियविषयैरभिभूतः ॥
- ९ चक्षुः श्रोत्रं घ्राणं जिह्वा स्पर्शश्चेन्द्रियाणि पञ्च ।
रूपं शब्दो गंधो रसस्पर्शौ तेषां विषयाश्च ॥

- 5 Objects of adversities in the world as taught by the Jinas are gambling, honey, wine, meat, prostitute, hunting, stealing and other's wife.
- 6 A being is verily full of diverse diseases in this world even though he is devoted to religion and devoid of (aforesaid) addictions. There is no doubt as to that.
- 7 There are five crores, sixty-eight lacs, ninety-nine thousands, five hundreds and eighty-four diseases.
- 8 Being attacked by diseases of this type and overtaken by sensuous pleasures, he does not think of religion in order to be happy in the next world.
- 9 Eye, ear, nose, tongue and skin are the five senses. Form, voice, smell, taste and touch are their objects.

१. B. परयारं. २. P. रोगाणं. ३. B. पंचे. ४. P. चुलसीई.
५. P. परलोअसाहणइं. ६. B. इंदिअ. ७. B. रसफासं.

- १० वाऊ पित्तं सिंभं ताणं जुदी^१ होअइ^२ सन्निवाओ अ ।
 *[जीवस्स वि निव्वियणं जीहाए खिप्पए तेहिं ॥
- ११ अन्नं च जम्मपुव्वं दिट्ठं मरणं असेसजंतूणं ।
 विसविसहरसत्थग्गी जलभिगुवादेहिं रोगेहिं^३ ॥
- १२ दुलहम्मि मणुअलोए लद्धे धम्मि य अहिंसलक्खडे ।
 दुविहसंलेहणाए विरला जीवा पवत्तंति ॥
- १३ अट्ठिभतरबाहिरिया हवेइ संलेहणा पयत्तेण ।
 अट्ठिभतरा कसाए सरीरविसए हु बाहिरिया ॥
- १४ इंदिसन्निहिअसरीरो भविओ जो अणसणेण वरमरणम् ।
 इच्छइ सो इह भालइ इमाइं रिट्ठाइं जत्तेण ॥

- १० वायुः पित्तं श्लेष्मा तेषां युतिर्भवति सन्निपातश्च ।
 [जीवस्यापि निर्विकल्पं जिह्वया क्षिप्यते तैः ॥
- ११ अन्यच्च जन्मपूर्वं दिष्टं मरणमशेषजंतूनाम् ।
 विषविषधरशस्त्राग्निजलभृगुपातै रोगैः ॥
- १२ दुर्लभे मनुजलोके लब्धे धर्मे चाहिंसालक्ष्यार्थे ।
 द्विविधसंलेखनायां विरला जीवाः प्रवर्तन्ते ॥
- १३ अभ्यंतरबाह्या भवति संलेखना प्रयत्नेन ।
 अभ्यंतरा कषाये शरीरविषये खलु बाह्या ॥
- १४ इन्द्रियसन्निहितशरीरो भव्यो योऽनशनेन वरमरणम् ।
 इच्छति स इह भालयत इमानि रिष्टानि यत्नेन ॥

- 10 Wind, Bile and Phlegm. Their combination is called Sannipāta (Pneumonia). Vitality or life is thrown out of order without fail by these (?).
- 11 In the case of all beings, death precedes, it is preached, another birth. (It takes place) through poison, snake-bite, weapon, fire, water, falling from a precipice and diseases.
- 12 Few people undertake Saṃlekhanā which is two fold—though they might have obtained human existence which is difficult to be obtained as well as a religion the characteristic mark of which is non-injury.
- 13 Saṃlekhanā is of two types :—external and internal. Saṃlekhanā in the case of passions is called internal Saṃlekhanā and it is styled external Saṃlekhanā if it refers to physical objects.
- 14 If one, who is fit to get emancipation and whose body and the organs are well restrained, wants to die an excellent death by fasting, sees these Rīṣṭas if due care is taken.

१. P. जुई. २. P. होइ. ३. B. भेएहिं. P adds marginally॥ अभिचारेण ॥

* The portion from the latter half of the 11th Verse up to the first half of 25th which is put in the bracket is taken from Poona ms. as the photo copy of Baroda ms. was so spoilt that nothing was intelligible or readable,

- १५ आराहणापडागं जो गिण्हइ परिसइ य जिणिऊण ।
संसारम्मि अ ठिच्चा वुच्छेहं तस्स रिडाइं ॥
- १६ पुव्वायरियक्कमागयं लद्धूणं दुग्गएवविबुहेण ।
वरमरणकंडियाए रिट्ठगणं भासिअं सुणेह ॥
- १७ पिंडत्थं च पयत्थं रूवत्थं होइ तंपि तिबिअणं ।
जीवस्स मरणकाले रिट्ठं नत्थित्ति संदेहो ॥
- १८ जं च सरीरे रिट्ठं उप्पज्जइ तं हवेइ पिंडत्थं ।
तं चिय अणेअभेअं नायवं सत्थदिट्ठीए ॥
- १९ जइ किन्हं करजुअलं सुऊमालं पिय हवेइ अइकडिणं ।
फुहंति अंगुलीओ ता रिट्ठं तस्स जाणेह ॥

- १५ आराधनापताकां यो गृह्णाति परिषदांश्च जित्वा ।
संसारे च स्थित्वा वक्ष्येऽहं तस्य रिष्टानि ॥
- १६ पूर्वाचार्यक्रमागतं लब्ध्वा दुर्गदेवविबुधेन ।
वरमरणकंडिकायां रिष्टगणं भाषितं श्रुणुत ॥
- १७ पिंडस्थं च पदस्थं रूपस्थं भवति तदपि त्रिविकल्पम् ।
जीवस्य मरणकाले रिष्टं नास्तीति संदेहो ॥
- १८ यच्च शरीरे रिष्टमुत्पद्यते तद्भवति पिंडस्थम् ।
तदेवानेकभेदं ज्ञातव्यं शास्त्रद्रष्टया ॥
- १९ यदि कृष्णं करयुगलं सुकुमारमपि च भवत्यतिकठिनम् ।
स्फुटन्त्यंगुल्यः ततो रिष्टं तस्य जानीत ॥

- 15 I describe the Riṣṭas of one who remaining in this world undertakes the vow of Ārāḍhanāpatākā, having conquered troubles.
- 16 Listen to (these) Riṣṭas described by wise Durgadeva from an excellent treatise called Marapaṇakandikā having got them by way of tradition handed down by ancient teachers.
- 17 There is no doubt that threefold Riṣṭa can take place at the time of one's death namely the Riṣṭa referring to body or to external objects or to form.
- 18 Riṣṭa taking place in a body is called Pinḍastha Riṣṭa. According to Śāstras it is also to be known as consisting of various types.
- 19 If a delicate pair of hands becomes black and very tough and if the fingers crack—know that it is a Riṣṭa in his case,

- २० थद्धं लोअणजुअलं विविन्न [वण्ण] तणू वि कट्टसमसरिंसं ।
परिज्झइ भालयलं सत्तदिणाइं उ सो जियइ ॥
- २१ मउलियवयणं वियसइ निम्मस्स [णिमेस्स] रहियाइं हुंति नयणाइं ।
नहरोमाइं सडंति य सो जियइ दिणाइं सत्तेव ॥
- २२ थगथगइ कम्महीणो थूलो उ किसो किसो हवे [इ] थूलो ।
सुवइ कयसीसहत्थो मासिककं सो फुडं जीयइ ॥
- २३ करबंधं कारिज्झइ कंठस्सुवरम्मि अंगुलिचएणं ।
न हु एइ गाढबंधं तस्साज्ज हवेइ मासिककं ॥
- २४ कडुतिक्तं च कसायं अबं मधुरं तथैव लवणं च ।
भुंजंतो न हु जाणइ तीसदिणाइं च तस्साज्ज ॥

- २० स्तब्धं लोचनयुगलं विवर्णतनुरपि काष्ठसमसदृशम् ।
प्रस्विद्यति भालतलं सप्तदिनानि तु स जीवति ॥
- २१ मुकुलितवदनं विकसति निमेषरहितानि भवन्ति नयनानि ।
नखरोमाणि शटन्ति च स जीवति दिनानि सप्तैव ॥
- २२ थगथगायते कर्महीनः स्थूलस्तु कृशः कृशस्तु भवति स्थूलः ।
स्वपिति कृतशीर्षहस्तो मासैकं स स्फुटं जीवति ॥
- २३ करबंधः कार्यते कंठस्योपर्यंगुलिचयेन ।
न खल्वेति गाढबंधं तस्यायुर्भवति मासैकम् ॥
- २४ कडुतिक्तं च कषायमम्लं मधुरं तथैव लवणं च ।
भुंजन्न खलु जानाति त्रिंशदिनानि च तस्यायुः ॥

- 20 If both of his eyes are stationary, if his lustreless body becomes wood-like and if the forehead sweats, he lives for seven days.
- 21 He lives for seven days only if his closed up mouth opens (at once), if his eyes do not wink, and if the nails and hair get rotten or fall off.
- 22 It is clear that he lives only for a month who shakes even when he is inactive, who becomes fat (all at once) even when he is (constitutionally) lean and vice versa and who sleeps with hand on head.
- 23 He lives for a month whose fingers, when they are placed round the neck to effect a fast bondage, do not give rise to such a bondage.
- 24 He lives for thirty days when he does not know, while eating, whether it is pungent, bitter, astringent, sour, sweet or saltish.

- २५ न ह्य जाणइ नियअंगं उड्डा दिट्ठी ज्झडणपरिहीणा ।] *
करचरणचल्लु [ह्रि]णासो गयजीयं तं विआणह^१ ॥
- २६ वयणेण एइ रुहिरं वयणम्मि य निग्गमेइ अइसासो ।
विस्सामेण विहि [ही]णो जाणह मच्चु लहु तस्स ॥
- २७ अहरनहा^२ तह दसणा कसणा य हवन्ति कारणविहीणा^३ ।
मासब्भितर आऊ निदिट्ठं तस्स सत्थम्मि ॥
- २८ †मुहजीहं चिय किण्हं^४ गीवा लहु पडेइ^५ कारणं नत्थि ।
रुंभइ हिअए सासो लहु मच्चु तस्स जाणेह ॥

- २५ न खलु जानाति निजांगमूर्ध्वा दृष्टिः स्पंदनपरिहीना ।]
करचरणचलननाशो गतजीवं तं विजानीत ॥
- २६ वदनेनैति रुधिरं वदने च निर्गच्छत्यतिश्वासः ।
विश्रामेण विहीनो जानीत मृत्युर्लघु तस्य ॥
- २७ अधरनखास्तथा दशनाः कृष्णाश्च भवन्ति कारणविहीनाः ।
मासाभ्यन्तरमायुर्निर्दिष्टं तस्य शास्त्रे ।
- २८ मुखजिह्व एव कृष्णे ग्रीवा लघु पतति कारणं नास्ति ।
रुणद्धि हृदये श्वासो लघु मृत्युस्तस्य जानीत ॥

- 25 Know that he is lifeless if he does not feel his limbs—if his sight is raised upwards and without motion and if the hands and feet do not move.
- 26 Know that he is to die soon if blood is coming out of his mouth and if he is panting ceaselessly.
- 27 It is stated in the Scriptures that he is to die within a month if his lips, nails and teeth become dark without any reason.
- 28 Know that he is fast approaching his end if his mouth and tongue get dark, if his neck droops swiftly without any cause and if his heart is choked.

१. B. विआणेह. २. B. अहरनहो. ३. B. करणविहिणा. ४. P. किण्हं. ५. B. पइ.

* The portion up to this was taken from Poona ms. as the photo-copy of Baroda ms. was not intelligible.

† The following verse in Sanskrit occurs as the 28th verse in B. but I have dropped it from the body of the text as, firstly, it does not occur in P and, secondly, it appears to be a quotation from some other book of the author or of some other writer. The verse is as follows :—

नवभ्रू दशकर्णानि (कर्णानि ?) पंचचक्षुस्त्रिनासिका ।
जिह्वाग्रे दिनमेकं च कालज्ञानेन भाषितम् ॥

- २९ करचरणअंगुलीणं संधिपएसा णेह [व] फुट्टेति ।
न सुणेइ कन्नघोसं तस्साऊ सत्तदिअहाइं ॥
- ३० जीहग्गं^१ अइकसिणं अण्णं^२ होइ जस्स गुरुतिलयं ।
मासिक्कं तस्साऊ निदिट्ठं सत्थइत्तेहिं ॥
- ३१ करचरणेसु अ तोयं दिन्नं परिसुसइ जस्स निव्वमंतं ।
सो जिअइ दियहतयं^३ इअं^४ कहिअं पुव्वसूरीहिं ॥
- ३२ वयणम्मि नासियाए तह गुज्जे जस्स सीअलो पवणो ।
तस्स लहु होइ मरणं पुव्वाचारिएहिं^५ निदिट्ठम् ॥
- ३३ देहं तेअविहीणं निस्सरमाणो [णिस्सरंतो] उंदए^६ सासो ।
पञ्चदस तस्स दियहा निदिट्ठं जीविअं इत्थ ॥

- २९ करचरणांगुलीनां संधिप्रदेशा नेव स्फुटन्ति ।
न श्रुणोति कर्णघोषं तस्यायुः सप्तदिवसानि ॥
- ३० जिह्वाग्रमतिकृष्णं खण्डितं भवति यस्य गुरुतिलकम् ।
मासैकं तस्यायुर्निर्दिष्टं शास्त्रविद्विः ॥
- ३१ करचरणेषु च तोयं दत्तं परिशुष्यति यस्य निर्भ्रान्तम् ।
स जीवति दिवसत्रयमिति कथितं पूर्वसूरिभिः ॥
- ३२ वदने नासिकायां तथा गुह्ये यस्य शीतलः पवनः ।
तस्य लघु भवति मरणं पूर्वाचार्यैर्निर्दिष्टम् ॥
- ३३ देहं तेजोविहीनं निस्सरन् खलु थगथगायते श्वासः ।
पञ्चदश तस्य दिवसा निर्दिष्टं जीवितमत्र ॥

- 29 He lives for seven days, if the joints of the fingers of his hands and feet do not crack and if he does not hear the (ringing) voice in his ears.
- 30 It is said by those who are well-versed in sciences that he lives for a month whose tip of tongue becomes very dark and whose big forehead mark is destroyed.
- 31 It is said by ancient preceptors that he lives indeed, for three days if water placed on his hands and feet dries up.
- 32 It is also said by them that he dies very soon if cold wind is coming out from his mouth, nose and private parts.
- 33 It is stated that his life here on this earth is for fifteen days if his body is lustreless and if his breath trembles when it is coming out.

१. P. जीहग्गे. २. P. अन्नं तं. ३. B. निअहतिअं. ४. P. इ. ५. P. पुव्वायारिएहिं.
६. P. थगथगते.

- ३४ अनिमित्तं^१ जलबिंदू नयनेषु पडन्ति जस्स आणवरयं ।
दसणा हवंदि कसणा^२ सो जीवइ सत्तदिअहाइ ॥
- ३५ दिट्ठीए चप्पियाए^३ ताराबिंबं न जस्स भमडेइ ।
दिणजुअमज्जे मरणं निदिट्ठं तस्स निम्भंतं ॥
- ३६ धिदिणासो^४ सुइनासो^५ गमणविणासो हवेइ इह जस्स ।
अइणिइणिइणासो मासचउक्कं उ सो जिअइ ॥
- ३७ न हु पिच्छइ^६ निअजीहा [हं] एअदिणं होइ तस्स इह आऊ ।
नासाए तिन्निं दिअहा नवदिअहा उ भमुहमज्जेण^७ ॥
- ३८ कन्नाघोसेण सत्त य लोअणताराण अदंसणे पंच ।
दिअहाइं हवइ आऊ इअ[ईअ] सत्थइत्तेहि ॥

- ३४ अनिमित्तं जलबिंदवो नयनेषु पतन्ति यस्यानवरतम् ।
दशना भवन्ति कृष्णाः स जीवति सप्तदिवसानि ॥
- ३५ दृष्ट्या आक्रान्तया ताराबिंबं न यस्य भ्राम्यति ।
दिनयुगमध्ये मरणं निर्दिष्टं तस्य निश्चिन्तम् ॥
- ३६ धृतिनाशः क्षुतिनाशो गमनविनाशो भवतीह यस्य ।
अतिनिद्रा निद्रानाशो मासचतुष्कं तु स जीवति ॥
- ३७ न खलु पश्यति निजजिह्वामेकदिनं भवति तस्येहायुः ।
नासया त्रयो दिवसा नव दिवसास्तु भूमध्येन ॥
- ३८ कर्णाघोषेण सप्त च लोचनतारयोरदर्शने पञ्च ।
दिवसानि भवत्यायुरिति भणितं शास्त्रविद्भिः ॥

- 34 He lives for seven days if the water drops fall continuously from his eyes without any reason and if his teeth become black.
- 35 It is expounded that he dies undoubtedly within a couple of days if the disc of star does not revolve with the revolution of his eyes.
- 36 He lives for four months if he loses patience, if he does not hear and if he cannot walk. Also if he sleeps much or if he does not sleep at all.
- 37 He lives for a day here if he does not see his own tongue ; in the case of his nose, three days and nine days in the case of the middle of his eye-brows.
- 38 He is to live for seven days if he does not hear the voice in his ears and for five days if he does not see the pupils of his eyes—it is so said by experts.

१. B. अदिट्ठं. २. B. कसणा. ३. B. दप्पियाए. ४ P. धिइवासो. ५. B. मदिणासो.
६. B. भिन्नइ. ७. B. दिन्नि. ८. P. भउंहुमज्जेण. ९. B. हव.

- ३९ बद्धं चिअ करजुअलं^१ न हु लग्गइ संउडेण निच्चंतं^२ ।
विहाडेइ^३ अइसएणं सत्तदिणाइं सो जिअइ ॥
- ४० इति रिट्ठगणं भणिअं पिंडत्थं जिणमयाणुसारेण ।
निसुणिज्जउ^४ पयत्थं कहिज्जमाणं समासेण^५ ॥
- ४१ ससिसूरदीवयाई[णं] अरिट्ठरूवेण पिच्छए जं जं^६ ।
तं उ भणिज्जइ रिट्ठं पयत्थरूवं मुणिदेहिं ॥
- ४२ नाणाभेअविभिन्नं तं पि हवइ इत्थ निव्विअप्पेणं ।
नाणासत्थमएणं भणिज्जमाणं निसामेह ॥
- ४३ पक्खालिऊण देहं सियवत्थं विलेवणो सिआहरणो ।
पुज्जित्ता जिणनाहं अहिमंतिअ निअमुहं पच्छा ॥

- ३९ बद्धमेव करयुगलं न खलु लगति संपुटेन निर्भ्रान्तम् ।
विघट्यत्यतिशयेन सप्त दिनानि स जीवति ॥
- ४० इति रिष्टगणं भणितं पिंडस्थं जिनमतानुसारेण ।
निश्रुयताम् पदस्थं कथ्यमानं समासेन ॥
- ४१ शशिसूर्यदीपकादीनामरिष्टरूपेण पश्यति यं यम् ।
तत्तु भर्ण्यते रिष्टं पदार्थरूपं मुनीन्द्रैः ॥
- ४२ नानाभेदविभिन्नं तदपि भवत्यत्र निर्विकल्पेन ।
नानाशास्त्रमतेन भण्यमानं निशामयध्वम् ॥
- ४३ प्रक्षाल्य देहं सितवस्त्रविलेपनः सिताभरणः ।
पूजयित्वा जिननाथमभिमंत्र्य निजमुखं पश्चात् ॥

- 39 He lives for seven days when his folded hands do not unite in such a way as to give rise to Samputa or when his hands disunite with difficulty after they have once formed a Samputa.
- 40 So these are the Rīṣṭas concerning body described according to the doctrines of the Jinās. (Now) Listen to Rīṣṭas indicated through external objects outlined in brief.
- 41 If one sees whichever of these—the moon, sun, the lamp etc. as an inauspicious indication, then it is called by the best amongst saints a Rīṣṭa regarding an object.
- 42 There is no doubt that it is also distinguished by a lot of varieties. Listen to that which is narrated according to diverse doctrines.
- 43-44 Let him see the Rīṣṭa of the object as described in Jain scriptures, having washed his body, having put white garments, anointments, and

१. B. करजुअल. २. B. लब्धंतं. ३. P. विहिडेइ. ४. P. निसुणिज्जइ सु. ५. B. समासेण.
६. P. जंजि. ७. B. वच्छवत्थ.

- ४४ ॐ ह्रीं नमो अरिहंताणं कमले २ विमले २ उदरदेवी इटिमिटि पुलिदिनी स्वाहा ॥ ईयं मनेणं मंतिय । नियत्रयणं एयवीसवाराओ पुण जोएउ पयत्थं । रिद्धं जिणसासणे भणिअं ॥
- ४५ एकोवि जए चंदो बहुविहरूवेहिं जो निअच्छेई [च्छीओ] । छिड्डो ह [हो] तस्स आऊ इगवरिसं होइ निब्भंतं ॥
- ४६ तह सूरस्स य बिबं णिण्णं छिड्डुं [ण्णं] अणेयरूवेहिं । तस्स भणिज्जइ आऊ वरिसेगं सत्थइत्तेहिं ॥
- ४७ रविचंदं तह तारा विच्छाया बहुविहा य च्छिड्डा य । जो णियइ तस्स भणियं वरिसेगं जीविअं इत्थ ॥
- ४८ दीवयसिहा हु एगा अणेगरूवा हु जो निअच्छेई । तस्स लहु होइ मरणं किं बहुणा इह^१ पलावेण ॥
- ४४ ॐ ह्रीं नमो अरिहंताणं कमले २ विमले २ उदरदेवी इटिमिटि पुलिदिनी स्वाहा इति मंत्रेण मंत्रयित्वा निजवदनमेकविंशतिवाराः पुनः पश्यतु पदस्थं रिष्टं जिनशासने भणितम् ॥
- ४५ एकोऽपि जगति चंद्रो बहुविधरूपैर्यो द्रष्टः । छिद्रौघस्तस्यायुरेकवर्षं भवति निर्भ्रान्तम् ॥
- ४६ तथा सूर्यस्य च बिबं पश्यति छिन्नमनेकरूपैः । तस्य भण्यत आयुर्वर्षैकं शास्त्रविद्भिः ॥
- ४७ रविचंद्रौ तथा तारान् विच्छायान् बहुविधांश्च छिद्रांश्च । यः पश्यति तस्य भणितं वर्षैकं जीवितमत्र ॥
- ४८ दीपकशिखां खल्वेकामनेकरूपां खलु यः पश्यति । तस्य लघु भवति मरणं किं बहुनेह प्रलापेन ॥

decorations, having worshipped the Lord of the Jinas, and having charged twenty-one times his mouth with the divine power of the following mantra—Om Hriṃ namo Arihantāṇaṃ Kamale Kamale Vimale Vimale Udara devī iṭimiṭi pulindinī svāhā |

- 45 If a moon, which is only one in this world, is seen by one in various forms and full of holes then he lives, verily, for one year.
- 46 So also if he sees the disc of the sun cut into diverse pieces, it is said by those proficient in sciences, that his life will be for one year.
- 47 His life here is said to be for one year if he sees the sun, moon and stars having no lustre, assuming various forms and abounding in holes.
- 48 He dies immediately if he sees a single flame of lamp in manifold forms. There is no necessity of saying too much on this point.

- ४९ उत्तमदुमं हि^१ पिच्छइ हिमदडुमिवाणलेण वा नूनं ।
लहु होइ तस्स मरणं पयंपियं मुणिवरिंदेहिं ॥
- ५० सत्तदिणाइं णिअच्छइ रविससिताराण जो सुहं बिबं ।
भममाणं तस्साज्ज होइ तिमासं नत्थि^३ संदेहो ॥
- ५१ रविचंदानं पिच्छइ चउसु विदिसासु चारि^२ बिबाइं ।
चउघडिआ^४ चउदिणाइं चउदिसं त य चउच्छिडुं ॥
- ५२ मज्झग्मि तहा छिडुं मासिक्क^५ तह य जुगलं च ।
जहकमसो^६ सो जीवइ दहदिअहाइं पव्वोदव्वा^७ ॥
- ५३ बहुच्छिडुं निवडंतं रविससिबिबं निअच्छए जो हु ।
भूमीए तस्साओ बारसदिणाइं निदिडो ॥

- ४९ उत्तमदुमं हि पश्यति हिमदग्धमिवानलेन वा नूनम् ।
लघु भवति तस्य मरणं प्रजल्पितं मुनिवरेन्द्रैः ॥
- ५० सप्तदिनानि पश्यति रविशशिताराणां यः शुभं बिबम् ।
भ्रमन्तं तस्यायुर्भवति त्रिमासं नास्ति संदेहः ॥
- ५१ रविचंद्रयोः पश्यति चतसृषु विदिक्षु चत्वारि बिबानि ।
चतस्रो घटिकाश्चत्वारि दिनानि चतसृषु दिक्षु तथा च चत्वारि छिद्राणि ॥
- ५२ मध्ये तथा छिद्रं मासैकं तथा च युगलं च ।
यथाक्रमशः स जीवति दश दिवसानि ॥
- ५३ बहुच्छिद्रं निपतन्तं रविशशिबिबं पश्यति यः खलु ।
भूम्यां तस्यायुर्द्वादश दिनानि निर्दिष्टम् ॥

- 49 It is said by the best amongst thinkers that his death will take place shortly if he sees the highest tree (palm tree) burnt as if it were with frost or fire.
- 50 There is no doubt that he is to live for three months if he sees revolving the bright disc of sun, moon and stars for seven days.
- 51 He lives for four Ghatikās if he sees in all the four corners discs of sun and moon ; and lives for four days if he sees four holes of them both in four directions.
- 52 If he sees a hole in the middle of them, he lives for a month or two or ten days respectively (?).
- 53 His life is stated to be for twelve days if he sees the disc of the sun and the moon containing many holes and falling on earth.

१. B. missing. २. P. न. ३. P. चउर. ४. P. घडिय. ५. B. मासेकत्थति.
६. B. जहा कस्से. ७. B. पव्वोदिवा.

- ५४ ताराओ रविचंदं नीलं पिच्छइ जो हु ।
तस्साओ दिअहचउक्कं दिट्ठो इय भासियं^१ मुणिवरिंदेहिं ॥
- ५५ धूमायतं पिच्छइ रविससिबिबं^२ अहव पजलंतं ।
सो च्छहदिणाइं जीवइ जलरुहिरं चिय पमुच्चंतं^३ ॥
- ५६ चंदसूराण पिच्छइ कज्जलरेहव्व मज्झदेसम्मि ।
सो जीवइ च्छम्मासं सिट्ठं सत्थाणुसारेण ॥
- ५७ भिन्नं सरेहिं पिच्छइ रविससिबिबं अहव खंडं व ।
तस्स छम्मास आऊ इअ सिट्ठं पुव्वपुरिसेहिं ॥
- ५८ पभणेइ निसा दिअहं दिअहं रयणी हु जो पयंपेइ ।
तस्स लहु होइ मरणं किं बहुणा इय [ह] त्रियप्पेहिं [ण] ॥

- ५४ तारा रविचंद्रौ नीलौ पश्यति यः खलु ।
तस्यायुर्दिवसचतुष्कं दिष्टमिति भाषितं मुनिवरेन्द्रैः ॥
- ५५ धूमायतं पश्यति रविशशिर्बिबमथवा प्रज्वलन्तम् ।
स षड्दिनानि जीवति जलरुधिरा एव प्रमुञ्चन्तम् ॥
- ५६ चंद्रसूर्ययोः पश्यति कज्जलरेखावन्मध्यदेशे ।
स जीवति षण्मासं शिष्टं शास्त्रानुसारेण ॥
- ५७ भिन्नं शरैः पश्यति रविशशिर्बिबमथवा खंडं वा ।
तस्य षण्मासमायुरिति शिष्टं पूर्वपुरुषैः ॥
- ५८ प्रभणति निशां दिवसं दिवसं रजनीं खलु यः प्रजल्पति ।
तस्य लघु भवति मरणं किं बहुनेह विकल्पेन ॥

- 54 It is said by the excellent amongst thinkers that he lives for four days if he sees the stars, the sun and the moon in blue colour.
- 55 He lives for six days if he sees the disc of the sun or the moon emitting smokes or in flames or discharging water or blood.
- 56 It is said according to Śāstras that he lives for six months if he sees (something) resembling a line of collyrium in the middle portion of the moon and the sun.
- 57 It is said by the ancient that he lives for six months if he sees the disc of the sun or of the moon broken with arrows or in pieces.
- 58 He dies immediately if he calls day a night and night a day. Where is the scope for doubt here ?

५९ दिव्सिही पज्जलंतो न मुणइ पभणेइ सीअलो एसो ।
सो मरइ तंमि काले जइ रक्खइ तिससणाहोवि ॥

६० कुच्चस्सुवरम्मि जलं दीयनं दिणंतयं च परिसुसइ ।
सो जीवइ सत्तदिणं किण्हसुक्कमि विवरीए ॥

६१ भरिऊण तंदुलाणं^१ रज्जइ कूरअंजली तस्स ।
ऊणे अहिआपुनं जइ भत्तो होइ लहु मच्चू^२ ॥

६२ भोअणसयणगिहे वा हड्डं मिल्हंति जस्स रिद्धाउ^३ ।
धावंति^४ हु गहिण कुणंति गेहं बहुलमच्चु^५ ॥

५९ दिव्यशिखिनं प्रज्वलन्तं न जानाति प्रभणति शीतल एषः ।
स म्रियते तस्मिन् काले यदि रक्षति त्रिदशनाथोऽपि ॥

६० कूर्चस्योपरि जलं दीयमानं दिनान्तके च परिशुष्यति ।
स जीवति सप्तदिनं कृष्णे शुक्ले विपरीतम् ॥

६१ भूत्वा तंदुलानां रथ्यति कूरांजलिं तस्य ।
ऊनोऽधिकापूर्णो यदि भक्तो भवति लघु मृत्युः ॥

६२ भोजनशयनगृहेषु वा अस्थि मुचन्ति यस्य रिष्टायुः ।
धावंति खलु गृहितेन कुर्वन्ति गेहं बहुलमृत्यु ॥

- 59 He dies at that very moment even if the lord of gods protects (him) if he does not feel the burning sun, (but on the contrary) says "this is cold".
- 60 He lives for seven days if water placed on his moustaches dries up at the end of the day—this is only with reference to dark-half but the reverse is true regarding bright-half.
- 61 Having taken a cavityful of rice, he cooks (them) ; (having cooked) if the cavityful of rice becomes less or more, he dies soon.
- 62 There is danger of his life if (they) place a bone in his dish, sofa or house ; many deaths occur in his house if (they) run with a (bone).

१. B. तंदुलानां. २. P. मुच्चु. ३. P. रिद्धा हु. ४. B. धादं वि.
५. P. व लहु मच्चू.

- ६३ अहिमंतिऊण सूत्तं चळणं मविऊण तेण संसाए ।
पुणरवि पहाए^१ मविए ऊणे सुत्तंमि जीअइ मासिक्कं ॥
- ६४ असिअ^२सियरत्त^३पीया दसणा अन्नस्स अप्पणो अहवा ।
पिच्छइ दप्पणम्मि य लहु मरणं तस्स निदिट्ठं ॥
- ६५ बीआए ससिबिंबं णिअइ तिसंगं च संगपरिहीणं ।
उवरम्मि धूमच्छायं अहखंडं सो न जीवेइ ॥
- अहव मयंकविहीणं मलिणं^४ चंद्रं च^५ पुरिससारिच्छं ।
सो जिअइ मासमेअं इअ दिट्ठं पूर्वसूरीहिं ॥

- ६३ अभिमंत्र्य सूत्रं चरणं मापयित्वा तेन संध्यायाम् ।
पुनरपि प्रभाते मापित ऊने सूत्रे जीवति मासैकम् ॥
- ६४ अस्ति सितरक्तपीतान् दशनानन्यस्यात्मनोऽथवा ।
पश्यति दर्पणे च लघु मरणं तस्य निर्दिष्टम् ॥
- ६५ द्वितीयायां शशिबिंबं पश्यति त्रिशुंगं च शृंगपरिहीनम् ।
उपरि धूमच्छायामहर्खंडं स न जीवीत ॥
- ६६ अथवा मृगाङ्गविहीनं मलिनं चंद्रं च पुरुषसदृक्षम् ।
स जीवति मासमेकमिति दिष्टं पूर्वसूरिभिः ।

- 63 Having enchanted the thread with spells and having measured the foot with it at the time of evening and having again measured the foot at the time of day-break, if the thread is found less, he lives for a month.
- 64 It is said he dies immediately if he sees his own teeth or other's as black, white, red and yellow in the mirror.
- 65 On the second day of the bright half if one sees that the disc of the moon has three cusps or has no cusp and also if he sees smoky envelope over it, he lives for a part of the day.
- 66 It is declared by the ancient seers that he lives for a month if he sees that the moon is without the sign of a deer, is dusky, or resembles a man (in appearance).

